The Harmony of Yin and Yank:

The American Military Advisory Effort in China, 1941-1951

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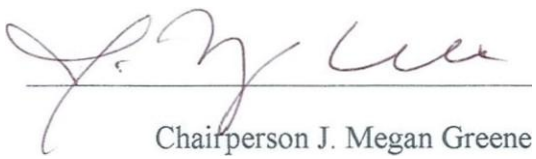

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By Joseph G. D. Babb

Professor J. Megan Greene, Advisor

The American military personnel assigned to advise and assist China's armed forces, from the most senior officers to junior enlisted servicemen, endured, persevered, and despite tremendous obstacles, made steady progress in their efforts to improve the operational capabilities of that nation's military. This dissertation examines the United States military's advise and assist effort in China beginning just before America's entrance into World War II through the re-establishment of a security assistance mission to the Republic of China on the island of Taiwan. This narrative history examines the complex relationship between the American military advisors and their Chinese counterparts during a dynamic decade of international war and internal conflict. While providing the overarching strategic, political, and diplomatic context, this study focuses on the successful rebuilding of selected elements of the Chinese armed forces by American advisors after its series of costly and humiliating defeats by the Japanese military before the United States officially entered the war. This program of training, equipping, and advising these forces not only contributed to their successful participation in the campaign to retake Burma, but also enabled their defense of the Nationalist wartime capital, and facilitated their planned offensive against the Japanese at the end of the war. These American sponsored units went on to conduct extended operations against the Communists in the eastern and northeastern China until nearly the end of the Chinese Civil War. This study also discusses American military support to the post-WW II reoccupation of eastern China, repatriation of Japanese military and civilian personnel, and national reconciliation efforts between the Nationalists and the Communists. The narrative concludes by examining the reduced post-negotiation American military advisory efforts during the expanded civil conflict beginning in early 1947 through the defeat and retreat of the Nationalist government and military. This study concludes with a brief discussion of the May 1951 reestablishment of the United States Military Assistance Advisory Group to Taiwan.

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I have had the privileged to teach at the Command and General Staff College for more than twenty years. Several fellow instructors at CGSC provided wise counsel and assistance throughout this long process. The Director of the Department of Military History, Dr. Jim Willbanks, sets a standard few can meet, but to which all should aspire. Dr. Gary Bjorge,

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I reserve to the end of this acknowledgement my sincere appreciation to my professors at the University of Kansas. First, I am truly indebted to Dr. Megan Greene, who inherited this older retired military officer from former senior China scholar, Dr. Dan Bays. The completion of this dissertation owes much to her patience and scholarly advice. Two other professors provided immeasurable encouragement and assistance over the years. Dr. Ted Wilson's unmatched knowledge of military and diplomatic history was always available as was his support. Dr. Bill Tsutsui, the consummate Japan scholar, is the model for a college teacher. He widened and broadened my horizons in Asian history. I could not be more appreciative of their instruction, patience, and encouragement.

LIST OF ACRONYMS

AAC	Army Air Corps
AGFRTS	Air Ground Force Resources Technical Staff
AMMISCA	American Military Mission to China
AVG	American Volunteer Group
CAF	China Air Force
CAI	Chinese Army in India
CAMCO	Central Aircraft Manufacturing Company
CBI	China Burma India Theater of Operations
CCC	Chinese Combat Command
CCP	Chinese Communist Party
CDI	China Defense Industries
CDS	China Defense Supply Company
CEA	Chinese Expeditionary Army
COMINTERN	Communist International
CT & CC	Chinese Training and Combat Command
GMD or KMT	Guomindang or Kuomintang
ICD	India China Division
IJA	Imperial Japanese Army
ITC	Infantry Training Center
IIIAC	Third Marine Amphibious Corps
JICA	Joint Intelligence Collection Agency
JUSMAGCHINA	Joint United States Military Advisory Group to the Republic of China
MAC	Marine Amphibious Corps

NRA	National Revolutionary Army
OSS	Office of Strategic Services
OWI	Office of War Information
PLA	People's Liberation Army
PRC	People's Republic of China
ROC	Republic of China
RTC	Ramgarh Training Center
RA	Red Army
SACO	Sino-American Cooperation Organization
SCAP	Supreme Command Allied Powers
SEAC	Southeast Asia Command
SOS	Service of Supply
SWNCC	State-War-Navy Coordinating Committee
USAAF	United States Army Air Force
USFCT	United States Forces China Theater
USMC	United States Marine Corps

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Preface

One of the decisions for anyone writing about China is what Romanization system to use. Most current works on China written in the United States use the widely accepted People's Republic of China's system called Pinyin, and this study is no exception. However, because this study covers the period from 1941-1951, before the Pinyin system was implemented, there are many references in documents, maps and sources in earlier Romanization systems. The author will make every attempt to aid the reader in being able to locate place names mentioned on maps (generated both during the period of the study and subsequently) and keep the key historical personages names consistent. Mao Tse-tung (Mao Zedong) and Chou En-lai (Zhou Enlai) are not a problem as the spellings are not significantly different. However, Chiang Kai-shek (Jiang Jieshi) is significantly different in Pinyin. To mitigate this problem the first time a name or place is used the Pinyin will be given in parenthesis immediately following the original Chinese name, title, or geographic location as above. Thereafter, in the remainder of the text the Pinyin is used.

The second issue in this study is the ambiguous meaning of the term "military advisor." The current *Department of Defense Dictionary of Military and Associated Terms* (Joint Pub 1-02, 15 Nov 2011) does not include a definition of advisor or military advisor. This study generally uses the description found in Chapter 2 of the United States Army May 2009 Field Manual *Security Force Assistance* (FM 3-07.1). For the purpose of this study, advisors are those personnel assigned to work with "foreign security forces" to perform the five basic functions outlined in detail in the manual. Military advisors are responsible for the following tasks in helping a foreign nation build and employ its military: (1) *Organize*, which includes such activities as recruiting, pay and benefits, and selecting leaders; (2) *Train*, which includes educating and training the foreign forces including helping to establish facilities and programs to

produce competent individual servicemen and units; (3) *Equip*, which includes procuring, maintaining, and operating weapons and equipment; (4) *Rebuild and Build,* which includes assessing, upgrading or establishing new facilities and infrastructure; and finally (5), *Advise and Assist,* which is characterized by the integration of American personnel into foreign units where they are directed to work with, by, and through the host nation forces and leaders to improve the capabilities of those elements. This includes serving with and accompanying the host nation's forces into combat if required.

This study of American military advisors to China, specifically from 1941 to 1951, uses this broad definition of the tasks, responsibilities, and expectations for those personnel who worked directly with, and were embedded in, Chinese military units and headquarters. In the broadest definition of *Security Force Assistance* in the manual cited above, American military units also "partner" with foreign security forces. While not advisors in the truest sense, those units that provide direct support to, or work alongside, or within the formations of allied units, are part of the broad task of assisting foreign security forces. While this study focuses on the advisors, those Americans that worked alongside and directly supported Chinese units in combat are also integral part of this narrative.

INTRODUCTION

"Be American but not too American, let the Chinese be Chinese but never too Chinese."[1]

Colonel Haydon. L. Boatner, United States Army Ramgarh, India, 1942

Overview

The ancient Chinese terms yin and yang are often perceived in the West as the interactions of opposites, day and night or feminine and masculine. However, as Herrlee G. Creel outlines in *Chinese Thought: From Confucius to Mao Tse-Tung*, "this was not the dualism of good and evil or spirit and matter. On the contrary, yin and yang complemented each other to maintain the cosmic harmony, and might transform each other; thus winter, which is yin, changes into summer which is yang."[2] *The Harmony of Yin and Yank* is a study of the complementary efforts of American military advisors and their Chinese counterparts to aid in the achievement of mutually supporting national goals in a great global conflict, and in its turbulent aftermath, in the middle of the twentieth century. Much has been written about the political, diplomatic, social, economic, and military aspects of *How the Far East Was Lost*[3] (Anthony Kubek) and the *Lost Chance in China.*[4] (Joseph Esherick). This study, while fully mindful of the ultimate outcome, attempts to focus more narrowly on this one aspect of the military dynamics of this relationship in terms of what was accomplished and how this effort transformed the complementary opposites over time.

From 1941 through 1951, the United States armed forces conducted a very complex and extraordinary effort to build a Chinese military capable of defeating Japan, recovering its lost territory, and protecting China's sovereignty. The United States began its active participation in the war over four years after major combat had broken out between China and Japan in July of

1937. During this period of conflict in China, before a state of war existed between Japan and America, President Franklin D. Roosevelt's administration pursued a predominantly diplomatic and economic strategy against Japan's aggression on the Asia mainland. America watched in the late 1930s as China suffered a series of disastrous military defeats where it lost many of its most well equipped and best-trained units. Driven from the industrial and agricultural heartland of eastern China, the seat of government was reestablished far to the west in the city of Chungking (Chongqing). The United States had barely begun a modest program to advise and assist the beleaguered Nationalist armed forces in the fall of 1941 under the provisions of the newly enacted Lend Lease program when Japan attacked the American fleet and key bases in Hawaii. Near simultaneously, Japan began its offensives against American forces in the Philippines and the colonial possessions of the European powers in Southeast Asia. The American military effort to support China began at the height of Japanese military power as it surged to extend its domination over the Asia-Pacific region.

Despite the inauspicious beginnings, over the next three years with American assistance a Chinese military began to emerge much more capable of conducting modern warfare against a sophisticated and well-armed foe. After the Japanese surrender in August 1945, the American military's mandate changed significantly. The new goal was to assist in the unification of China in order to create a strong and capable power in Asia to replace Japan and serve as a bulwark against potential Soviet expansion. Expressly forbidden from becoming directly involved in combat operations in China's civil war, over the next four years American military personnel were required to conduct a diverse set of tasks, from ceasefire monitor, to liaison officer, to operational planner and advisor. American military advisors played a key role from the early beginnings just before America’s entrance into the war with Japan, through May of 1951 when a

formal military assistance program was reestablished on Taiwan. From war with Japan, through the Chinese civil war, and as American forces were once again committed to combat in Asia on the Korea peninsula, the military assistance effort continually adapted to difficult and changing circumstances at home, in China, and in the region.

Thesis

The American military personnel, from the most senior officers to junior enlisted servicemen, endured, persevered, and despite tremendous obstacles, made steady progress in their efforts to improve the operational capabilities of China's armed forces. The Chinese armed forces in the first half of the twentieth century were a complex political-military institution with a very different national culture and historical tradition. This improvement took place in an operational environment of formidable opposing enemy forces, forbidding geography and terrain, and conflicting and dynamic international, alliance, and national strategic policies and politics. The very real accomplishments of these American military personnel and the lessons of their successes, shortcoming, and failures have been obscured by the circumstances of the Japanese surrender and the Nationalist military's ultimate defeat in the civil war that followed. The value of their contributions has also been tainted by the partisan political recriminations and the search for blame in the aftermath of the Communist victory and the October 1949 announcement of the establishment of the People's Republic of China (PRC). The achievements and contributions of these American men and women was also pushed into the background with the early onset of the Cold War in Asia and the conflict on the Korea peninsula that would eventually bring the armed forces of the United States into direct combat with China's military. This decade long effort merits a closer examination from the perspective of the American military personnel who served in China as combat advisors, combined staff officers, operational

and logistics planners, technical experts and trainers, and liaison officers--collectively called "advisors" in this study. Their primary role was not to serve in direct combat within American units or organizations, but rather to serve and work alongside and support their Chinese counterparts.[5]

America's commitment to China was not surprising given the military, diplomatic, economic, and missionary backdrop of the previous hundred years. The United States military had been involved on the ground in China continuously since the turn of the century with its participation in the Boxer Rebellion and the subsequent occupation and garrisoning of Tientsin (Tianjin). While China's war with Japan had been going on since July of 1937, the official American military program to build up the Nationalist forces of Chiang Kai-shek (Jiang Jieshi) only started in 1941 with a small and politically circumscribed effort to provide limited ground and air force equipment. At its peak in 1943, there was a plan to train, equip, and advise ninety divisions with supporting headquarters elements and a robust air combat and transport arm. At the end of the war with Japan, nearly forty of these divisions had been trained and equipped. In addition, hundreds of aircraft had been delivered and thousands of pilots, crews, and support personnel had been trained in the United States and China. However, despite the often heroic and herculean efforts of the men and women of the American military forces deployed to the region and their Chinese counterparts, the China-Burma-India Theater ultimately became a sideshow in the war against Japan. America's nearly unilateral campaigns driving through the Pacific and Southwest Asia became the main effort to defeat Japan. This is despite the fact that more than three million well-equipped and capable Japanese military and civilian personnel were still serving in China and Manchuria at the end of the war.

In August of 1945, the Japanese surrendered just as Chinese forces trained, advised, and equipped by American military personnel were preparing to go on the offensive in support of the overall Allied effort. However, the dropping of the atomic bombs by planes from bases in the Marianas, the large scale Soviet involvement in Manchuria after the victory in Europe, and the cumulative effects of the isolation of Japan from its sources of supplies through strategic bombing and control of the seas changed the strategic calculus in Asia and significantly complicated the post-war situation. The road to American military involvement in Korea and Vietnam began in 1945 with the reemergence of conflict between the Communists and the Nationalists in China. In August of 1945, the Allies most immediate requirement was to occupy and demilitarize Japan. This included a major ancillary effort to repatriate millions of Japanese military and civilian personnel from China. In addition, American forces were also sent to occupy Korea, a mission that later evolved into a military advisory mission, and eventually into the first hot conflict of the Cold War.

All this was taking place, as the American people demanded the fastest possible return of military personnel to the United States and their families. This directly conflicted with the emerging requirements of the post war world that had to be immediately dealt with by the administration of President Harry S. Truman. While the Second World War was over, significant tasks that only the military could perform or support remained to be accomplished in China and Asia. In September 1945, in addition to the advisors, airmen, and logistics personnel serving in China, nearly fifty thousand additional American ground troops of the Third Marine Amphibious Corps (IIIAC) deployed to key ports in the northeast. This effort, while ostensibly in support of post war Japanese demobilization and repatriation, was a form of military occupation intended to provide President Truman options as the post war situation developed. For those opposed to

Jiang's government in China, this support was also overwhelmingly committed to his Nationalist forces. This significantly complicated the American effort to bring about a politically and militarily unified China through diplomacy with the Soviet Union, and especially, in the conduct of negotiations between the Nationalists and the Communists. This obvious favoritism was no more apparent than in the effort to redeploy Nationalist forces in the immediate aftermath of the Japanese surrender.

Programs were quickly established to continue to provide advisors to redeploying Nationalist Army units, and to help supervise the surrender and movement of Japanese forces back to the home islands. A massive effort to transport Nationalist combat formations from the interior of China to key coastal ports and the northeast soon began to take shape. In addition, significant amounts of military equipment and war materials were provided to support this effort. The Unites States now had vast quantities of surplus stocks no longer needed to prosecute the war readily available. The efforts to train, equip, and provide advice and assistance to the Nationalist forces continued as had previously been agreed to and funded. The immediate post-war effort in China included the continuation of the small military liaison mission, the "Dixie Mission," that began in August of 1944, to the Communist headquarters of Mao Tse-tung (Mao Zedong) at Yenan (Yan'an) in northwest China. The United States did not abandon its efforts in China, military or diplomatic, with the end of the war with Japan.

China's long war against Japan had change drastically and fundamentally the strategic military situation on the ground between the Communists and the Nationalists. In 1936, the Communists had been cornered and were on the verge of military defeat after a long, fighting retreat to Yan'an in far northwest China now known as the Long March. However, by 1945 Mao's Red Army had recovered it strength, occupied key territory and was poised to challenge

directly the Nationalists. Mao's forces had conducted guerrilla warfare operations against the Japanese, but more importantly, had continued to organize the population in Japanese-held territory, in now Soviet-held Manchuria, and in the north and east of China. As Nationalist forces moved east from the wartime operating area in central and southwest China their struggle with the Communists slowly devolved into open hostilities as both sides vied for military and political advantage.

This emerging situation threatened to derail America's strategic goals in Asia. Major General Patrick J. Hurley, who had been sent by President Roosevelt to China in late 1944 to assess the situation on the ground, was now serving as the American Ambassador. He began negotiations between the two factions and achieved some initial successes including a face-to-face meeting of Jiang and Mao. However, the talks broke down and Hurley resigned his post claiming his efforts were being sabotaged by his subordinates. He alleged that American military and State Department Far East experts, or "China Hands," undermined the negotiations with their negative reports on Jiang and the Nationalist forces and their pro-Communist leanings. This was the beginning of a bitter battle in the American domestic body politic over how the post-war situation in China should be handled. The military advisors were not only caught in the middle of this political turmoil, but also had to respond with planning and implementing new programs and activities under very trying and difficult circumstances. Some of the most difficult and dangerous tasks were related to the escalating tensions between the Communists and the Nationalists that reemerged in the early 1940s after a four-year attempt at maintaining a united front against Japanese aggression.

When Hurley abruptly resigned in November of 1945, President Truman dispatched a man who was America’s foremost soldier-diplomat, General George C. Marshall, to negotiate a

ceasefire with the hope of enabling an eventual long term and stable political accommodation. The role played by the American military advisors stationed in China was a key supporting effort to these negotiations. However, the continued military assistance provided to the Nationalist forces during negotiations was also a contributing factor in their eventual collapse. The Communists under Mao used this assistance to Jiang's forces in their anti-American propaganda effort to gain concessions, play up their anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist credentials, and discredit the Nationalists as the legitimate government of China. The failure of the Marshall Mission in late 1946 significantly changed the American approach in China and again complicated the role of the military advisors who remained with the Nationalist forces. The end of the negotiations also ended the liaison mission to Mao's headquarters in Yan'an.

The United States continued to provide limited military advice and assistance to the Nationalists after Marshall was recalled as a full-scale civil war erupted. American ground and air forces remaining in China were withdrawn and the reduced number of advisors that stayed was directed not to accompany Nationalist forces on combat missions. Even the U.S. military effort to assist Nationalist higher-level headquarters in operational planning was very circumscribed, and seen as less important and unwanted. While Jiang needed a continuing source of military equipment and supplies, he had personally directed the fight against the Communists since 1927 while amassing his political power and consolidating his leadership position. Under Jiang's leadership, the Nationalists had pushed the Communists to the edge of defeat in the mid-1930s with a minimum of foreign assistance. The reemerging internal conflict was not on par with the war against the Japanese foreign invaders who had fought with modern equipment and military concepts successfully adapted from European models.

The Communists under Mao showed few trappings of a modern armed force capable of large-scale military operations. However, the situation on the ground in China in 1945 was not the same as in 1935--militarily, politically, socially, or economically. The emerging regional situation was also significantly changed. The ultimate result of the Chinese civil war is well known—by 1949 Jiang and the Nationalists were exhausted, demoralized, defeated, and forced to retreat to the island of Taiwan. The American strategic effort in China had clearly failed. However, this outcome should not be attributed to the American military advisors on the ground in China whose efforts are the central focus of this study. A brief review of the regional strategic circumstances at the end of the war with Japan that served as a backdrop to the emerging Chinese civil war provides additional factors that affected the military advisors left in China.

The Relevance and Value of the Study

For more than six decades since the end of the Second World War, scholars, journalists, pundits, and political ideologues have questioned, argued, and written volumes about various aspects of the "Who Lost China" debate. For most American scholars, the dialogue has primarily focused on the administrations of Presidents Franklin D. Roosevelt and Harry S. Truman, their political opponents, and the strategic decisions and actions of the senior American political, military and Department of State players involved. Generalissimo Jiang Jieshi, the nature of his Nationalist regime, the earnestness of his efforts to fight the Japanese, and his desire and methods of trying to rid the China of the Communists while building and maintaining a viable political and military coalition are often at the center of the controversy. No less of an enigma is the ultimate winner, Mao Zedong. The triumphant Red Army, the mystique and appeal of Mao's peasant brand of the Communist ideology (the Yan'an Way), and, his successful implementation of guerrilla warfare doctrine or People's War have received ample attention. Both Jiang and

Mao's relationships with Joseph Stalin and the Soviet Union have also been part of this contentious debate. The literature on the key Americans who were senior military or diplomatic personnel stationed in China during the period is voluminous, as are their trials and tribulations during the McCarthy era. The so-called "China Hands," both civilian and military, were repeatedly pilloried as being pro-Communist and anti-American as their actions and advice allegedly played a crucial role in the "loss" of China. This study concentrates on the military aspects of this era, and specifically, on the advisors who served with and supported the Chinese military.

The official military history narrative of this period is covered in five excellent studies. Two historians who served as soldiers in the China-Burma-India (CBI) Theater wrote the first three. They later "formed the CBI Section of the staff engaged in writing the history of the U.S. Army in World War II."[6] Charles F. Romanus and Riley Sunderland jointly wrote *Stilwell's Mission to China* (1953)[7], *Stilwell's Command Problems (1956)*[8], and *Time Runs Out in CBI* (1959)[9]. These three volumes of the United States Army, Center of Military History's official histories of World War II (Green Books) continue to set the standard for military history written about this military theater of war. These studies contain detailed information on the actions and activities of the American military advisors. The other two volumes of official history covering this period are much less well known and recognized, but are nevertheless excellent scholarly studies of military actions and activities during this period. James F. Schnabel's *Joint Chiefs of Staff and National Policy, 1945-1947* (1996)[10] and Kenneth W. Condit's *Joint Chiefs of Staff and National Policy, 1947-1949* (1996)[11] provide a broad strategic overview of the situation and the military activities pursued to achieve American national policy in China.

Much of this debate has been focused on the strategic military and political levels, and especially on the key senior leaders directly involved in making policy and decisions, first in the war with Japan, and then during the immediate aftermath. However, there are several questions related to the military effort in China that are much less asked and the answers less fully covered that have the potential to further illuminate this debate. What was the impact of the American military advisory effort in China in the decisions made by Jiang and Presidents Roosevelt and Truman, both during the course of the war with Japan and the civil war that followed? Bevin Alexander begins his book, *The Strange Connection: U.S. Intervention in China, 1944-1972,* with his analysis with President Roosevelt's ultimatum to Generalissimo Jiang to place General Stilwell in command of the Chinese armed forces for the upcoming offensive against the Japanese. Jiang's slow rolling of the demand to replace Stilwell was not recognized as symptomatic of the limits of the future relations between the two powers. Alexander makes the case that the United States backed the wrong side, a side that could not be a competent and trustworthy ally in the war against Japan, or in the aftermath of the conflicts. Jiang and the Nationalists did not have the will or potential to play a key supporting effort to the United States in Asia.[12]

Marc Gallicchio, in a journal article, argues, "it seems clear that Army officers had produced an alternative history of the American experience in China that emphasized, indeed exaggerated, their successes at the end of the war and minimized the imposing problems that still awaited them after Japan's surrender."[13] He further argues that Army officers influenced the domestic political debate by arguing for continued aid to Nationalist China. This study reexamines these "exaggerated successes" and the implied critique that these military advisors "minimized the imposing problems that still awaited them."[14] The scope and difficulties of the

problems that faced them constitute a core element of this study. It is entirely possible that their minimization of the problems after the surrender was a function of the cumulative effect of the successes of what they had accomplished during the war with Japan. The relationships and shared sacrifices the American had made with the both the Chinese Nationalists and the Communists over the course of the three years of war had its effect on what these men believed could be accomplished with military assistance to China. Gallicchio's later book *The Scramble for Asia: U.S. Military Power in the Aftermath of the Pacific War* deals with "how American officials sought to translate victory over Japan into a lasting peace in Asia."[15] His focus is on the influence these officials had on domestic political decisions in the American body politic. This study focuses more narrowly on the actions taken on the ground between the advisors and their Chinese counterparts.

Ronald H. Spector, in his *In the Ruins of Empire: The Japanese Surrender and the Battle for Postwar Asia,* includes China as one of the five Asian nations examined in his study. He quickly covers the role of the advisors during the war with Japan and their legacy. His book attempts to answer a simple, but important question. "Why did peace in Asia prove so elusive?"[16] He outlines the role played by the advisors, and provides insights from several lower level Americans that served in China. He also provides a thoroughly researched outline of the role and decisions of senior players. However, he concentrates on the post war period and key senior American military, diplomatic, and political leaders. Unlike Spector's work, this study argues that the post war actions, activities and attitudes of the American advisors and their Chinese counterparts at all levels were part of a broader continuum of hard earned successes that began much further back in Sino-American military-to-military relations.

The crux of this study is an analysis of the role played by the American military advisors,

and, by extension, the successes, and failures, of their Chinese counterparts in the fighting formations in the field. The focus is on how this effort evolved and was conducted given the circumstances: historical, strategic, operational, and cultural. In the decade covered in the study, the American advisors served in three very different strategic circumstances. The first three years was supporting the Chinese in their war with Japan. Nearly four years of civil war defined the second phase of Sino-American relations. This ended with the initial stage of rebuilding a defeated force on an island sanctuary of Taiwan, an island seen by the United States as a potential strategic asset. This work is an attempt to gain a deeper and more nuanced understanding of this decade that although it resulted in strategic failure in China, also provides a study of how military advisors had a positive effect at the tactical level, and therefore, provided senior military, diplomatic, and political leaders with options and alternatives. They provided possibilities that might not have been available to decision makers had not they achieved the results they did, and persevered in the most trying of circumstances.

The primary perspective of this work is the actions and activities of the American military advisers who were on the ground in China during this crucial period in history. An underlying argument in this study is that American military advisors in China, from officers serving at the national headquarters to the lowest ranking officers and enlisted men assigned to tactical units in the field, were able, over time, to work through and find complementary solutions to historical, military, and cultural differences that they confronted. While the solutions were not always optimal, they were in the end often practical and effective. The American advisors acted like Americans, their Chinese counterparts acted like Chinese, but over time and with great effort, significant progress was made in building a competent and able military force capable of extended modern combat operations. This neither was a wasted attempt without any

hope of success, nor was it a squandered effort where real opportunities and successes were callously lost. The military effort was part of a complex mosaic of social, cultural, political, economic, diplomatic, and international strategic factors. The outcome of the loss of China cannot be separated from the role played by the American military advisors. However, the successes and progress the advisors made with their Chinese counterparts should not be ignored or slighted. Not all attempts to advise and assist another nation should be summarily dismissed as impossible undertakings.

The potential value of this study is to inform the reader about the significant role played by military advisors in China. I know of no published work focusing exclusively on the role of the U.S. military advisors to China during this period. The distinguished China historian, Jonathan Spence's impressive survey, *To Change China: Western Advisors to China, 1620-1960* includes two chapters on this period.[17] His book was published in 1969 as American efforts in Southeast Asia were transitioning to include a major effort to provide more advisors to the armed forces of South Vietnam. Spence's study is a warning of the limitations, drawbacks, and pitfalls of Western advisors in Asia. However, he goes too far in his unstated assertion that the foreign advisory efforts failure is foreordained. The recipient nation's ability to address, accept, and inculcate key and critical changes and the donor nation's ability to assist in bringing about those changes in a culturally and politically appropriate manner, must be taken into account. As this study is being written, American military advisors are once again playing a key role in this nation's national security in both Afghanistan and Iraq, and many other places around the globe.

This study directly relates to scholarship in four areas. First, it most directly relates to the field of military and diplomatic history of the Second World War and its immediate aftermath. Secondly, this study touches on the field of military history and international relations in the

opening days of the Cold War and the competition that developed between the United States, the Republic of China on Taiwan, and the People's Republic of China. This period saw America's involvement during the Truman administration in the Korean Conflict that continued during the Dwight D. Eisenhower presidency. Two major crises in the Taiwan Straits followed this war. Thirdly, this historical narrative provides background to America's relations with the two Chinas today. Lastly, this historical narrative serves as a case study for ongoing operations and future decisions to provide military assistance and advisors to other nations, and the conduct of those missions.

Methodology

The methodology used in this study is a chronological narrative. The broad strategic and operational context is described, and then the roles, key activities, and where applicable, the views and plans of the senior advisors, key subordinate leaders and the trainers and advisors in the field are examined. The study outlines the organizational structures, assigned tasks, or mandates, and the cross-cultural issues the advisers dealt with for each of the periods covered in the following chapters. In terms of factors to assess, Spence's *Western Advisers in China* offers timeless insights of foreign advisors who have served in China since the 17th Century. His long-term historical perspective also provides specific warnings for those whose national interests have brought them to work with the Chinese. The successes and failures of the American advisors when assisting other nations will be looked at using enduring principles and activities. Former Secretary of Defense Robert Gates in the *Foreign Affairs* journal captures a current view of these principles in a recent article. He offers five tenets to enhance America's capacity for "building partner capacity." A gist of the five broad strategic principles is outlined below:

- Agility and flexibility in dealing with unforeseen threats or opportunities;

- Effective congressional oversight and partnership with the executive;
- Assuring partners of reliable long term predictability and planning parameters;
- State Department foreign policy prerogatives must be reinforced; and
- Modesty and realism in the face of different countries and cultures.[18]

The last of these principles is probably most appropriate for a study that focuses on the Americans working with their Chinese counterparts on the ground in China, Burma, and India.

The recent U.S. Army doctrine of *Security Force Assistance* outlines the enduring operational and tactical principles and activities for military advisors. These missions are defined as "unified action to generate, employ, and sustain local, host-nation, or regional security forces in support of a legitimate authority."[19] This doctrine asserts that a mindset of working by, with, and though the supported forces is a central tenet. Advisors must "overcome the temptation to do what they know and do best, whether relevant or not to the situation, advisors must accept that they are bound by unique situations."[20] The guidance then discusses several imperatives, foremost among these is to "Understand the Operational Environment."[21] The tasks that the advisors are expected to perform in helping another nation improve the capabilities of its armed forces include working with their counterparts in organizing, training, equipping, and building the infrastructure as well as combat advising in the field against a common foe.[22] The situation in the host nation dictates the actions of the advisor. He must work within the capabilities and limitations of his counterparts. Most importantly, he must understand and adjust to the realities of the operational environment.

The conclusion of this study uses compliance to these broad principles and tenets to evaluate the operational context and actions of the American military leadership and personnel during the timeframe under study. When looked at over the ten years of the study, although there

were notable exceptions, the American advisors were both reliable and their actions predictable. The advisors adapted to complex and dynamic changes in the war with Japan and to the challenges of the evolving post war situation. Perhaps most importantly, the American military went into the conflict with considerable experience working in China and with the Chinese military, and gained more over the decade of this study. Both sides knew what to expect of the other. While initial expectations were possibly overly optimistic, ultimately the possibilities, given the enormity of the tasks that confronted them as the situation on the ground evolved, were well grounded and realistic.

Study Organization

The organization of the case study, with the exception of this introductory first chapter and the concluding chapter, uses a generally chronological approach. Chapter 2 provides a brief overview of America's diplomatic and military involvement in China prior to the war with Japan. The next four chapters each provide a synopsis of the strategic situation, a discussion of the organization and tasks of the military headquarters responsible of the advisory effort, followed by a discussion of the key components, actions, and activities of the American military advisors undertaken during these periods. These chapters also include commentary and notes from the senior military leaders, American trainers and advisors, and their Chinese counterparts.

Chapter 2 begins with a broad overview of Chinese-American relations that began in the late 1700s with commercial trade under the protective umbrella of the more powerful European nations, especially Great Britain. The Western missionaries attempt to Christianize China in the 1800s complemented this predominately-economic activity. The first American military advisor in China was a civilian adventurer from Massachusetts named Frederick Townsend Ward who, under the pay of local Chinese authorities, formed and commanded the successful Ever-

Victorious Army in the defense of Shanghai against the Taiping revolutionaries. Apart for port calls by the American Asiatic Fleet, until the eight-nation military expedition in 1900 to put down the Boxer Rebellion, American military forces did not conduct operations in China. With this participation by all three military services, essentially, U.S. forces or advisors remained on mainland China for nearly fifty years.

In 1800, United States Marine Corps (USMC) detachments guarded the American diplomatic mission and legation in Peking (Beijing). Marine Corp battalions and elements remained in the Shanghai area until 1941 to provide security for American citizens in the foreign concessions. The Army's 9th Infantry Regiment, among others, served in Beijing for a short period after the Boxer Rebellion. However, the 15th Infantry Regiment permanently deployed into the area around Tianjin in1912 and until 1938 enforced treaty protocols and guarded lines of communication from Beijing to the coastal forts. The United States Navy patrolled the China's coast, the Yangtze (Yangzi) River, and key estuaries through 1941 to protect shipping and American citizens. This long history of military involvement in China provides an important backdrop to this study of America advisors in terms of their familiarity with the country and understanding the military geography, political situation, culture, and language.

This chapter also includes a discussion of the development of China's modern or Westernized, military forces. Beginning in the mid 1800s, Great Britain, France, and the United States all began to play a role in advisory, training, and arms sales activities that began as part of the larger Self-Strengthening Movement. This effort to field military forces with Western equipment, organization, and training expanded in the period after the establishment of the Republic of China (ROC) and the Warlord era of the early twentieth century. In the years prior to the Second World War, first Soviet, and then German, American, and Italian military advisors all

played a role and influenced emerging Chinese national unity and relations with the other foreign powers. The Chinese Communists also had foreign advisors, Germans and Russians, acting as part of the Communist International. Also briefly discussed are the role of the American military attachés and the programs to prepare U.S. officers for service in China. These officers were the predecessors to the Army's current Foreign Area Officer program of which this author was a participant. This chapter also includes an overview of Claire Chennault's effort as a civilian contract advisor to the Nationalist air force. This retired American Air Corps officer developed a personal relationship to Madame Jiang and the Generalissimo. The chapter concludes with observations of how Chinese forces have dealt with foreign advisors prior to the beginning of the major American effort that is the focus of this study.

Chapter 3 discusses the dispatch of the American Military Mission to China (AMMISCA) in October 1941 led by Brigadier General John Magruder. The most important function of this chapter is to outline Roosevelt's China policy, and to set the strategic and operational context the advisory effort encountered immediately prior to, and in the opening days of, America's entrance into the war after the attack on Pearl Harbor. This American mission began with a detailed assessment by Magruder and his staff of the requirements of the advisory effort and the status of the Chinese Nationalist forces. These U.S. military officers began the process of building personal relationships between American advisors and their Chinese counterparts, starting at the top with Magruder and Jiang. This chapter also examines relations with the British allies, the initial theater command relationships, and the multinational effort to defend the key supply line to China through Burma. The Japanese attacks throughout the Asia-Pacific in December of 1941 immediately threatened America's ability to supply the Nationalist Army with vital war materials, and significantly changed the role of the advisors.

Chapter 4 begins with the establishment of the China-Burma-India Theater and the assignment of Lieutenant General Joseph W. Stilwell, Jr. as Chief of Staff to Jiang and the Nationalist Army. Stilwell began his Second World War service in the China-Burma-India Theater while the effort to retain Burma by British and Chinese forces was ongoing. His arrival in February 1942 came at the beginning of a fighting retreat and attempt to reestablish a secure defensive line and land routes to China. This chapter examines, in some detail, the establishment of the American training base at Ramgarh, India where the initial efforts to advise and assist China ground forces occurred. This chapter also covers the planned training and equipping of the additional nearly sixty divisions of both the Y-Force and the X-Force in various locations in southeastern China.

These forces in concert with the Chinese forces trained in India were key elements for the recapture of Burma and the reopening of this vital ground line of communications. The program in India was a necessary precursor to the larger effort in China. The American trained divisions from Ramgarh were proof that a Chinese army could be organized that could defeat Japanese forces in the field, but not without significant assistance in terms of advisors and enabling capabilities. The chapter also introduces several of the ancillary or supporting activities that both enabled and complicated the American advisory effort in China. These activities included the State Department's direct support to the military, the activities of the Office of Strategic Services, and the Navy's Sino-American Cooperation Organization. Also briefly examined, is the role of the American press in China during this period. The chapter ends with a discussion of the Major General Patrick J. Hurley's mission to assess the status of Sino-American cooperation that directly led to the relief of "Vinegar Joe" Stilwell.

Chapter 5 begins with a discussion of the selection of Albert C. Wedemeyer to replace Stilwell and the splitting of the CBI Theater into a Burma-India and a China command. A key element of this chapter is a comparison of Stilwell and his successor, Lieutenant General Wedemeyer, in terms of their qualifications, leadership styles, experience, and relationship with the Chinese leadership. This chapter spans the period from the 1944 Japanese offensive in China to the end of the war. Brigadier General Frank Dorn and his program to prepare and employ the Y-Forces for the recapture of Burma, and protect the key logistical and training hub at Kunming, is an important element of this chapter. The fighting capabilities of Chinese forces properly trained, equipped, and led were proven in combat. The chapter also discusses the failed effort to protect the American bomber bases in southwestern China. This is the culmination of a strategy proposed by Chennault and opposed by Stilwell and others as untenable given the strength and disposition of Japanese forces.

The zenith of the American advisory efforts was the formation of Alpha force, the nearly forty divisions trained and equipped by the United States by mid 1945. By the end of the war, this force was prepared to conduct an offensive operation against the Japanese in southeastern China. This chapter includes a discussion of the preparations to launch an offensive to drive to the China coast and begin the process of Chinese control of its territory. The chapter ends with Major General Patrick J. Hurley's efforts to bring the Nationalists and the Communists together, the hurried planning to bring American combat forces into China to control key ports, and the transporting Jiang's forces with their advisors to key locations in eastern China.

Chapter 6 covers the period from the surrender of the Japanese in China in September of 1945 to the evacuation in January of 1949 of the remaining personnel of the Joint United States Military Advisory Group (JUSMAG). The abrupt end of the war with Japan created an especially

confusing and complex situation in all of Asia, and this was no less true in China. In September 1945, the American USMC IIIAC quickly deployed as a de facto occupying force. Over the next several months, thousands of Nationalist Chinese troops redeployed to the east and northeast to supervise the repatriation of millions of Japanese military and civilian personnel. The Nationalist signed a pact with the Soviets who continued to occupy Manchuria. Hurley's negotiations with the Communists and the Nationalist failed, he resigned, and General George C. Marshall took his place in this important endeavor. American military advisory personnel played a central role in all these undertakings. Their tasks included the organization and staffing of the Peiping (Beijing) Executive Headquarter tasked with monitoring the ceasefires negotiated by Marshall. This headquarters also had to be prepared to respond to any support agreements Marshall proposed as leverage in the negotiations. Planning a mission to train and equip Communist divisions and organize a combined Nationalist-Communist military establishment was also required. Marshall was officially recalled in January of 1947; however, planning for continued military assistance to the Nationalists became a key part of President Harry S. Truman's diplomatic policy for China.

The changes brought about by the National Security Act of 1947, caused the reorganization of the original service-centric advisory missions that began right after the end of the war with Japan. As the Nationalist Army shortcomings on the battlefield became more obvious, the Joint Staff in concert with senior advisors in China proposed a new military advisory organizational structure. Congress eventually agreed to some of these changes. This chapter discusses the key American decisions and actions with a direct influence on the outcome of China's civil war. With the onset of the Cold War and the imminent fall of the Nationalist government, planning for what to do next with the advisors in China took on added importance. This chapter concludes with Communist victory in the Chinese Civil War.

Chapter 7 and the postscript, the concluding sections, briefly discuss the re-establishment of an American Joint Military Assistance and Advisory Group in May of 1951 on the island of Taiwan. This recommitment to Jiang and the Nationalists is the culmination of nearly a ten-year effort by American military personnel to assist the Chinese armed forces. The key issues of why and how the American advise and assist efforts failed to bring about the desired results--a unified China, supportive of American interests in the region, moving in the direction of a more democratic society is examined from the perspective of the advisors. The strategic failure of this endeavor is well documented in the literature. The focus of this study is on what the American advisors did accomplish during this difficult and dynamic decade. The positive relationships and the many successes in building the Nationalist forces by the American advisors and their Chinese counterparts deserves a more nuanced and careful examination. The issues, challenges, and complexities highlighted in this study are clear evidence that the past is often prologue.

From May of 1951 until the withdrawal of the military mission in January of 1979 with the official recognition of the People's Republic of China (PRC), the American military advisors and the armed forces of the Republic of China (ROC) worked side-by-side as allies in a troubled and turbulent Asia. Even today, Taiwan continues to have a military-to-military relationship with the United States military beyond arms sales including continued access to military educational opportunities. While only recognized by a few countries as independent and not having a seat in the United Nations, the Republic of China is the de facto sovereign over the Taiwan and several adjacent island groups. In analyzing the period from 1941 to 1951 in terms of Secretary Gates' five principles and current U.S. Army doctrine for working with the forces of an ally, insights to ongoing and future military efforts emerge. The receptivity, motivations, and cultural and historical differences of a host nation's political and military leadership are critical variables in

the success or failure of a military advisory mission conducted by a foreign nation in pursuit of its own interests.

While China was certainly not America's to lose, that does not necessarily mean that the U.S. military's attempts to build a Chinese national armed force capable of securing the country internally and protecting it from outside threats could not have had a more positive result. An alternate path is not hard to imagine with a different outcome or situation at termination, in both the war with Japan and, especially, in the Chinese Civil War. America has certainly paid a butcher's bill for the rise of the Cold War in Asia in the aftermath of the Second World War. The uneasy accommodation between Mao and Josef Stalin; the three years of war and the decades of stalemate on the Korean peninsula; and, the long, divisive effort in Indochina closely followed the failure in China. As American forces continue to be asked to perform military advisory missions around the globe, we ought not to pass up the opportunity to re-examine how this important and extensive advise and assist mission played out in China. This study concludes with warnings and observations from this historical experience as the advisors tried to be American, but not too American, and as they tried to get their counterparts to be Chinese, but not too Chinese.

The next chapter begins with a look back at America's historic relationships with China. One of the key factors to be considered at the beginning of this study is the long and unique American experience in China, by merchants, missionaries, the media, as well as military personnel. The American military advisors of 1941-1951 certainly did not enter China without a national bias and historic legacies. These were gained over nearly a hundred years of interaction not only with the Chinese, but also with Japan and the European powers who maintained extensive ties in China and Asia. The American experience itself is set within a larger context of

a century of complex Chinese foreign relations and internal turmoil. The next chapter sets the stage for this historical study of American military advisors in China.

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[1]Haydon L. Boatner, Notes for U.S. Liaison Officers with Chinese Units, Boatner Papers, Box 6, Hoover Institution of War, Revolution, and Peace (Hereafter cited as Hoover Institute) Stanford, CA.

[2]Herrlee Glessner Creel, *Chinese Thought, from Confucius to Mao Tse-Tung* (Chicago: University Of Chicago Press, 1953), 173.

[3]Anthony Kubek, *How the Far East Was Lost - American Policy and the Creation of Communist China, 1941-1949* (Chicago: Henry Regnery Company, 1963).

[4]Joseph W Esherick, ed., *Lost Chance in China: The World War II Despatches of John S. Service* (New York: Ransom House, 1974).

[5]U.S. Department of the Army, Headquarters, *Security Force Assistance*, by Government Printing Office, FM 3-07.1 (Washington, DC, May 2009), 2-1-2-12. The Army Field Manual defines this effort as "the unified action to generate, employ, and sustain local, host-nation, or regional forces in support of legitimate authority. The manual further outlines five major tasks with supporting sub-tasks. The five tasks are: (1) Organize; (2) Train; (3) Equip; (4) Rebuild and Build; and Advise and Assist. Chapter 2.

[6]Charles F. Romanus and Riley Sunderland, *Time Runs Out in CBI*, vol. 3 of *United States Army in World War II: The China-Burma-India Theater* (Washington, DC: Center of Military History United States Army, 1990), vi.

[7]Charles F. Romanus and Riley Sunderland, *Stilwell's Mission to China*, vol. 1 of *United States Army in World War II: China-Burma-India Theater* (Washington, DC: Center of Military History United States Army, 1987).

[8]Charles F. Romanus and Riley Sunderland, *Stilwell's Command Problems*, vol. 2 of *United States Army in World War II: The China-Burma-India Theater* (Washington, DC: Center of Military History United States Army, 1985).

[9]Romanus and Sunderland. *Time Runs Out in CBI*.

[10]James F. Schnabel, *History of the Joint Chiefs of Staff: The Joint Chiefs of Staff and National Policy, 1945-1947* (Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office, 1996), 1.

[11]Kenneth W. Condit, *History of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the Joint Chiefs of Staff and National Policy, 1947-1949* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1996).

[12]Bevin Alexander. *The Strange Connection: U.S. Intervention in China, 1944-1972* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1992), 1-9.

[13]M. Gallicchio, "The Other China Hands: U.S. Army Officers and America's Failure in China, 1941-1950," *Journal of American-East Asian Relations* 4, no. 1 (Spring 1995): 72.

[14]Ibid.

[15]M. Gallicchio, *The Scramble for Asia: U.S. Military Power in the Aftermath of the Pacific War* (New York: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2008), ix.

[16]Ronald Spector, *In the Ruins of Empire: the Japanese Surrender and the Battle for Postwar Asia*, Reprint ed. (New York: Random House Trade Paperbacks, 2008), xi.

[17]Jonathan Spence, *To Change China: Western Advisers in China, 1620-1960* (New York: Penguin (Non-Classics), 1969), 228-88. Chapters 9 and 10 of this book look at the advisory effort covered by this study.

[18]Robert M. Gates, "Helping Others Defend Themselves: The Future of U.S. Security Assistance," *Foreign Affairs* 89, no. 3 (May/June 2010): 6.

[19]U.S. Army, *Security Force Assistance*, 1-1.

[20]Ibid., 2-1.

[21]Ibid.

[22]Ibid., 2-2 to 2-8.

CHAPTER 2

AMERICA'S HISTORIC MILITARY INVOLVEMENT WITH CHINA, 1840-1940

Overview

> The Americans of the late eighteenth century had a very special view of the world, together with a self-image that is hard for us to remember now, even though we have inherited from it certain reflex reactions. The Americans believed that they had a special message for mankind, that they were a new breed of people, new compared with the Europeans. The believed in egalitarian democracy. They believed in small government, government that would help the enterprise of the individual and not hinder him, give him protection when necessary. They believed their free enterprise promised a superior way of life both materially and spiritually, vastly better than the old societies of Europe or the British empire or any empire they might come up against....
>
> First to arrive was the merchant, who tried out what he could do on foreign shores, and then, particularly if the merchant got in trouble, the naval diplomat, a captain or commodore with a warship who provided a little gunboat diplomacy to help out the merchant. The missionary followed along behind, seizing the opportunity to try to improve the local people's spiritual welfare.[1]

The above quotation is from a work by the now deceased distinguished professor of Asian history at Harvard University, John King Fairbank. He and his wife both worked for the United States government in China during the Second World War for the Office of War Information (OWI).[2] In the above quote, he outlined a pattern of activities with a unique set of underlying American values and attitudes. The United States imperialist activities followed a similar pattern to the British who were America's senior partner in some respects.[3] From the beginning of the 19th Century, Americans conducted economic, military, and diplomatic activities in China. From the first official emissary, Caleb Cushing, in the early 1840s to the early 1940s when Brigadier General John Magruder was sent to the wartime capital of Chungking (Chongqing) by President Franklin D. Roosevelt to oversee the newly established lend-lease program, China and the United States maintained an important and unique relationship. China had been at war with itself, the major European powers, or Japan in one form of conflict or another for most of the nearly one hundred years prior to the start of the Second

World War. American troops had not taken a direct role in these conflicts until 1900 and the Boxer Rebellion. However, the United States did continuously maintain forces in China thereafter. American merchants, missionaries, and military personnel not only had been observers of these events, but also were often direct participants during this important period of modern Chinese history. When the American military advisors, trainers, administrators, and liaison officers arrived in China in the weeks and months before and after the December 1941 Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, they were treading on familiar ground.

China's humiliating defeat in the first Sino-Japanese War (1894-95) was the opening act of over five decades of military, diplomatic, and political conflict leading to the Second World War in Asia. In 1900, Japan joined America and the European powers in the eight-nation invasion, relief of the foreign legations, and occupation of the capital and surrounding territories in what is known in the West as the Boxer Rebellion. Japan's emerging dominant position in the region was further enhanced with its defeat of Russia in 1905 in the Russo-Japanese War. President Theodore Roosevelt brokered the peace treaty ending this conflict, a reflection of America's growing interest in the region. Japan officially took control of Korea as its colony in 1910 and moved inexorably to exert even greater control over northeast Asia. These foreign incursions paralleled the intermittent violence, misrule, and chaos of rebellion, banditry, and regional warlord governance that characterized daily life in many areas of China.

At the end of the First World War, Japan, which had been one of the Allied powers, moved quickly to take advantage of the favorable outcome of post war diplomacy and increased its territorial mandate in Asia. Enticed by China's governmental and military weakness, Japan began a long-term effort to move into and control resource rich Manchuria, and bring China into its sphere of influence. With this occupation and the subsequent formation of the puppet state of

Manchukuo in northeastern China in the early 1930s, the Chinese people were clearly the unwilling victims of the worst of Japanese imperialism and military aggression. This was happening while a complex political-military contest for the future of the nation among the Nationalists, the Communists, and diverse group of powerful warlords raged across the rest of China.

During this time, the United States initially looked on from the sidelines, protecting its own interests and prerogatives. Eventually the Roosevelt administration conducted largely ineffective diplomatic maneuvers until it began to implement piecemeal economic sanctions and embargoes in the late 1930's focused on strategic materials critical to the Japanese war effort. For Generalissimo Jiang Jieshi and his Nationalist military, the Second World War began on July of 1937 with an incident near the city of Beijing.[4] It would be over four years before the United States would become directly involved in the war with Japan. The Japanese attack against American military bases on U.S. territory in Hawaii finally brought the United States into the war. China, a nation of over 400 million people in a land mass nearly the size of the continental United States, was to be part of the multinational alliance established to combat Japanese aggression in Asia. This developing wartime relationship was the result of America's long involvement in China and Asia, including diplomatic and military activities that began nearly a century before at a time when both internal and external enemies were threatening China's ruling dynasty.

The Early Years of American Involvement

Although the first American ship, Empress of China, had landed at Whampoa (Huangpu) near Canton (Guangzhou) in southern China in 1784 to trade ginseng root for tea,[5] the first official diplomatic action between the United States and China was essentially a coercive

commercial agreement. The Treaty of Wanghia (Wangxia) was signed in July of 1844, approximately two years after the conclusion of the humiliating defeat of Chinese forces in the First Opium War (1839-1842) by the British military. One of the few British battlefield defeats during this conflict was the result of the actions of a civilian militia band call Sanyuanli, an incident specifically mentioned in the history chapter of Mao's 1936 classic *On Guerrilla War*.[6] This violent peasant reaction resulted in calls on the government to fight the foreigners.[7] The resulting 1842 Treaty of Nanking (Nanjing), among other provisions, ceded Hong Kong Island to Great Britain and provided for access to five additional ports for international trade.[8] To ensure the United States also benefitted from this greater access to the China trade, Caleb Cushing, the nation's first government emissary to China, negotiated a separate treaty. The United States was provided "most favored nation" status and parity in matters of import and export duties and tariffs with the European powers.[9] Perhaps more importantly, while not having participated militarily, the United States was seen by the xenophobic Chinese government as another one of the foreign powers who sought to open up China to trade, commerce, and religious conversion, by force if necessary.[10]

America's own aggressive military behavior in Asia during this time was focused on the closed, insular nation to the east of China. Originally partially opened by the Dutch in the 1600s, Japan remained isolated and feudal in its outlook and behavior into the 1850s. Because of its prime location astride rich whaling and fishing waters, sooner or later Japan was going to be part of the greater European thrust into the Western Pacific. In 1853-1854, the "Black Ships" of Commodore Matthew C. Perry's Asiatic Squadron were ordered by President Millard Fillmore to open up Japan before either the Russians or the British had seized the opportunity. This successful incursion along with the diplomatic actions that followed (the Treaty of Kanagara in

March of 1854), was a catalyst to historic political, military, diplomatic and social changes in Japan. This change in Japan's status and outlook had significant ramifications for China, the United States, and the European powers conducting a broad range of activities in Asia. Japan's Meiji Restoration, beginning in 1868, led to unprecedented changes in that nation's military capabilities, foreign policy and the regional outlook of this formerly technologically backward, isolationist country. With the purchase of Alaska from the Russians in 1867, America's military and diplomatic role in Northeast Asia and the North Pacific became more significant, and prominent.[11] This transformation in Japan, a country that would become China's mortal enemy in less than thirty years, occurred while both Chinese dynastic and revolutionary leaders looked on, seemingly incapable of action. China itself was dealing with both foreign and internal threats and pressures for change.

The Second Opium War (1856-1860) also known as the Arrow War for the name of the ship on which the incident precipitating the conflict took place followed the First Opium War (1839-1842) that resulted in a humiliating treaty with the British. Again, the Chinese suffered a series of military defeats at the hands of the British, this time joined by France as its ally. After several initial military victories and resulting successful diplomatic actions during the first two years of the war, the European forces had to recommence military actions after China failed to comply with agreements made in 1858. The British and French conducted a major military expedition that eventually led to the occupation of the Chinese capital, the destruction the Summer Palace northwest of Beijing, and the legalization of the opium trade. Perhaps more importantly, additional areas of China were opened to commerce and foreign influence including inland ports along the Yangzi River.[12] The United States, again, was not a military participant in this conflict. However, it did benefit from the signing of the Treaty of Tientsin (Tianjin) in June

of 1858 with provisions that ensured whatever treaties the Chinese government signed with foreign powers that Americans also "shall at once freely inure to the benefit of the United States, its public officers, merchants, and citizens."[13]

At the same time the Chinese central government in Beijing was dealing with this external European aggression, it also had to deal with growing internal threats. The leader of the most important revolutionary movement of this period was a purported Christian from the southern province of Guangdong. Hong Xiuquan, who would later claim he was Jesus Christ's younger brother, began a peasant revolt that would last more than a decade and reportedly cause more than 20 million deaths. With a quickly expanding group of followers and religious adherents, Hong's rebellion surged out of southern China and eventually grew to threaten the very existence of the central government. With its capital established at Nanjing, the new Kingdom of Heavenly Peace disrupted trade and commerce, especially along the Yangzi. This threat precipitated a reaction by the foreign forces to defend their interests and the concessions where they resided down river in Shanghai.[14]

The Taiping Rebellion (1851-1864) established the Kingdom of Heavenly Peace with the goal of ruling all of China and imposing a new religious order based on a mix of distorted Christianity and a rudimentary form of peasant socialism. The movement's primary political, military, and religious leader studied for a short time under the American Baptist missionary I. J. Roberts, but soon lost Western religious support as his visions moved further and further from orthodox Christian tenets.[15] This rebellion's ideology, in addition to calling for believing in Hong's religious visions demanded sweeping social changes in China. His new regime's goals included the end of dynastic rule, a holistic, national military organization encompassing the entire society, and, in a major break from Chinese history and culture, greater equality for

women and their service in the state bureaucracy and armed forces.[16] The Taiping army had evolved in a way that was quite contrary to traditional Chinese military thought, organization, and leadership.

The twenty-year history of military failures suffered by the imperial forces of the Ch'ing (Qing) central government at the hands of the technologically superior foreign forces does not explain the dramatic martial triumphs of these backward rebels led by military amateurs who originated from the rural areas of southern China. The beginnings of China's effort to reorganize its military and seek Western assistance in its modernization can be traced to the internal and external threats of this period in the mid 19th century. Until this time, the central government directly controlled the predominant military forces in China. These units were stationed in small elements throughout the nation. Their primary mission was to react, first to internal threats, and then combined for larger campaigns when external enemies threatened Qing sovereignty or prerogatives. These forces were the Manchu Banners and the Army of the Green Standard Army. By the mid-1800s, these armies had shown themselves to be less and less capable of dealing successfully with the expanding threats to the dynasty.[17]

The ruling Qing dynasty itself was a legacy of an external armed force taking power by military conquest. In reality the Manchu regime that ultimately defeated the Chinese Han of the Ming dynasty in 1644, although it received considerable help from disaffected Han forces, was itself an invading foreign power. The conquering Manchus from what is now northeastern China or Manchuria established a new dynastic regime. Not unique in China's history, this foreign dynasty retained the preponderance of military power under its direct control. However, the Manchus generally allowed the Han Chinese bureaucracy to continue to administer the country under the time-tested magistrate system albeit under the close direction and supervision of

selected Manchu leaders.[18] The Manchu Banners of the 19th century traced their lineage back to the nomadic warrior cultures of the steppes to the north of China. However, once the Manchu dynasty was established in Beijing, and sovereignty and influence attained over an area larger than China today, this once powerful military ruling elite slowly began to deteriorate for a variety of reasons. Issues related to imperial overstretch, political reliability, internecine court feuding, and popular Han sentiment against a foreign occupation all played a role. Perhaps most telling was the mounting costs of training, equipping and maintaining its far-flung forces to cope with near constant regional rebellions and border conflicts across the broad expanse of Chinese territory. To deal with these threats, in addition to the Manchu forces, the Army of the Green Standard, officered initially from the Banners, was organized as a predominately Han Chinese infantry force.[19]

These Han Chinese military units also suffered from some of the same weaknesses as the Banners. They were also seen as much less politically reliable by the Manchu-led central government. By the time of the Opium Wars and Taiping Rebellion, the drain on the national treasury had reached a point where the maintenance and improvement of a large standing army by the central government was problematic for cultural, ideological, as well as financial reasons. Nevertheless, the pressing need for updated methods of recruiting, training, equipping, and organizing competent military forces became increasingly obvious to key leaders in the central government. This was especially true within the ranks of the Qing regional magistrates and provincial governors in eastern coastal China as the threat from the Taiping Army including to the capital in Beijing, the resource rich Yangzi River valley, and the port of Shanghai became more obvious and dire.[20]

The First American Military Advisors

During the Taiping period, foreign military advisors including a small group of Americans led by Frederick Townsend Ward began to play a role in China's military development.[21] Ward was a Massachusetts native who started out his life of foreign adventures as a merchant seaman. He also claimed to have been a Texas Ranger, fought in Central America as a mercenary, and served with the French in the Crimea.[22] After making his way to China on a merchant vessel, he seized the opportunity presented by the Taiping threat to the foreign community in Shanghai and began to build a mercenary force for hire. Under contract to a local Chinese magistrate, Ward, together with two other Americans, Edward Forester and Henry Burgevine, assembled, trained, and commanded in combat a mixed unit of European, Filipino, and Chinese forces over the next three years. Although senior American representatives in China knew his activities, Ward was not working for the U. S. government when he embarked on his short, but glorious career as a mercenary in the service of China. From late 1859 until his death from battle wounds in 1862, his force fought in conjunction with European and Qing armies to protect Shanghai and reduce the threat from the Taiping attacks and encroachments. At the time of his death, he had essentially "gone native." He had renounced his American citizenship, married a high Qing official's daughter, sworn allegiance to China, and was promoted to the rank of Brigadier General in the Imperial army.[23]

Interestingly, he reportedly made similar observations to those General Joseph W. Stilwell and other American military advisors would make in the early 1940s about the fighting qualities of the average Chinese soldier. "In his escapades he had learned from the Taiping themselves that Chinese soldiers, well armed, well trained, and well led made fierce fighters."[24] After Ward's death the leadership of this force, later to be known as the Ever-Victorious Army,

was passed to a professional British military officer, Captain Charles G. (Chinese) Gordon, who was to lose his life later fighting in another of Queen Victoria's colonial conflicts in the Sudan. This army was a multinational mixed force of several thousand that included European officers and non-commissioned officers. The troops were equipped with modern infantry weapons, artillery, and water transport. Fighting alongside locally raised, equipped, and trained provincial Chinese armies, this foreign-led army played a key supporting role in the defense of Shanghai and in the eventual defeat of the Taiping forces after some early setbacks. This Army not only gained the confidence of the European leaders in Shanghai, but also caught the attention of two influential Qing officials, Li Hung-chang (Li Hongzhang), the Governor of the province, and Tseng Kuo-fan (Zeng Guofan), the commander of the Qing forces in the Nanjing region. These two officials would both be key players in future attempts to modernize China's military.

> Though Ward was only thirty years old when he died, he had managed to forge for himself, in a chaotic time and by whatever methods were at hand, a personal and financial success of imposing stature. He had, as well, managed for the first time to train Chinese troops to fight in the more effective European manner; had provided a model for Li Hung-chang's own Huai army; had impressed Li with the possibility of strengthening herself along Western lines without relying on foreign nations and foreign troops; had help clear a thirty-mile radius around Shanghai of Taiping rebels; and had build up the foundations of a force that was to be more effectively used by his famous successor, Gordon.[25]

In the aftermath of the Second Opium War and the Taiping Rebellion, the national forces of the central government and the old methods of organizing and fighting of the Manchu Banners and the Army of the Green Standard had been discredited. However, the fiscal position of the central government was in shambles. The ruling dynastic regime was already weak from military overextension, problems with domestic taxation, and loss of revenue with the outflow of silver to the British precipitated by the opium trade. The eventual successful response to the Taiping threat pointed to the need for a very different military system. The central problem was how to

pay for it and how to maintain political control while accomplishing this task. This was not and would not be a problem that was easily solved in China. The answer, at least in part, was found in the programs for building regional militias and beginning to produce modern equipment and munitions indigenously. Qing provincial officials began, with little help from the ruling powers in Beijing, an effort to organize more powerful regional militias capable of conducting warfare with modern weapons and Western-style training and doctrine.

The next logical step was to gain greater access to foreign weapons and technology and to build a domestic capability to manufacture armaments. Under the aegis of Prince Kung (Gong), the dynasty's pseudo-foreign minister, Li Hongchang and other powerful regional military and civilian officials slowly began to put together a comprehensive program of reform, known as the Self-Strengthening Movement. Despite the obvious need, support from the Qing leadership in Beijing was ambiguous and the cost of building such forces ensured this could only be done piecemeal and over the long term. There was also the fear of the loss of central political power as regional officials and military leaders built competent and capable forces, not geographically close to the capital and clearly not controlled or necessarily obedient to the direction of the emperor.[26]

The Self-Strengthening Movement emerged in the 1860's, a time when the defeat of the Taiping Army and successful campaigns against other rebel bands in China highlighted the capabilities of the regional militias and the weakness of the central government. This was also a period of relative peace with the European powers. The foreigners were now established in protected enclaves in many of the port cities of China to facilitate trade and commerce, and religious conversions. While extraterritoriality protected the foreigners from prosecution by Chinese courts and magistrates, the stationing of small numbers of foreign forces also provided a

protective umbrella of available, reliable, and competent military support for the defense of these international communities. The Qing dynasty was forced to accept, at least for the time being, the humiliation of these foreign territorial and military encroachments and the loss of sovereignty that they signified. Conversely, this was also a period of cooperation as foreign military specialists and technicians were now training small numbers of Chinese forces in Western military methods. In addition, shipyards, factories, and arsenals were established to provide indigenously produced modern munitions and equipment. Among these foreign arms transactions were deals with the American company, Remington Arms. British, French, and German firms also provided the machinery and technical expertise for shipyards and arsenals to manufacture small arms and ammunition as well as cannons, and small to medium-armed steamships of modern European design.[27]

Despite some progress in acquiring modern Western equipment and the technical capabilities to incorporate these new tools and methods into the Chinese armed forces, key senior officials in Beijing chafed at the idea, and especially opposed changes to the training of young Chinese scholars. It was from this group that the officer corps would historically have been recruited. The importance to the ruling dynasty of centrally selecting bureaucrats to run the government and senior military officers based on a system of examinations that selected the administrative elite of China made any change in the educational system very difficult. These time-honored written tests, beginning at the local level and continuing through the provincial to the national level, required in-depth knowledge of ancient Confucian texts and commentary. The idea of China's educational elite having separate examinations for modern Western science and technology and attending special academies to learn English and other foreign languages met very stiff opposition from the highest level of government. Beijing also did not look favorably on

efforts to reduce the size of the Army of the Green Standard to provide more funds for modernization.[28] Political, cultural, and financial factors adversely affected the opportunities for the successful systematic improvement of China's armed forces--a pattern that will repeat itself during the next seventy years or more.

A prime example of the give-and-take of those Chinese leaders who wanted to change the system and those who desired to maintain the status quo was the program to send young Chinese students overseas to study, especially in the area of science and technology. "Li [Hongzhang] was impressed by Japanese efforts to learn Western techniques. He learned that the Tokugawa shogunate [Japan] had sent young men of distinguished lineage to Western countries to serve as apprentices in the factories and had acquired 'machines that make machines' and installed them at home."[29] A young Chinese scholar Yung Wing, who had studied at Yale University in the United States, presented such a plan to the Chinese leadership in 1868. However, it was not until 1872 that this effort was finally approved. In 1875, the first thirty (out of 120) Chinese students to be sent to the United States began their planned fifteen-year program of studies in Hartford, Connecticut. The authorities in Beijing promulgated specific regulations to ensure Chinese scholars accompanied these students so that they also received traditional instruction as well.

This American program was curtailed, and only lasted until 1881, in a dispute over whether or not these students could attend the American military academies. Culture, nationalism, and racism played a part in decisions made during this dispute. However, promising Chinese students continued to be sent to Europe with a greater focus on military related subjects as part of a still limited program of study and work in Western technology especially in the areas of transportation and industry.[30] China was not ready politically, educationally, intellectually, or militarily to embrace the foreign military technologies and the cultural changes that would be

needed to move its armed forces to operate successfully against the European powers. As Denis Twitchett argues, "the hold of traditional cultural values was as strong as ever. Such institutions as the examination system and the Green Standard army not only were upheld by vast vested interests, but gained sanctity because of tradition. Modernization would plainly require the breaking of cultural and institution values."[31] With only half-measures in defense modernization at best dictated by the central authorities, China's improvements in its national military proceeded in fits and starts, on a small scale, and only regionally. Nevertheless, selected Qing military units now armed and prepared with Western equipment and training were successful in the 1870s in putting down several internal rebellions. The Qing government, by being able to deploy quickly well armed and equipped forces, was also able to resolve a potential military conflict with Russia in the west without fighting. This enabled the dynastic regime to maintain better control of its vast, remote western territorial borders.[32]

However, in 1884-85 a war with France over the colonization of a Chinese tributary state in what is now Vietnam again displayed Qing military deficiencies when opposing a competent European military force. A major element of Chinese military modernization effort had been the building of a Western-style navy. At the time of the Sino-French War, China had built locally or purchased about fifty steam-powered warships. Foreign experts were providing training, but the program to establish a modern navy was incomplete when the conflict started. By the time, this costly war with France ended China had lost nearly one-third of its newly acquired navy, and potentially would have lost more if the naval forces stationed in the north Peiyang (Beiyang) had joined the fight given the competence of their naval leadership.

The weakness of the central government in Beijing allowed some regional authorities to maintain a certain level of autonomy. This was to prove very costly. In its battles with the French

navy, between ships of nearly equal capabilities, Chinese training deficiencies and the lack of unity of command of its national naval forces were disastrous. The deficiencies on land against foreign forces could be mitigated to a certain degree by China's ability to mobilize large numbers of troops. Operations on land, in terms of battles won and territory taken, showed some improvement in Chinese military capability. However, an evaluation of China's victories in terms of casualty ratios clearly gave the advantage to the French. The Chinese did achieve a victory in the Battle of Bacle in northern Vietnam, but more because of surprise and overwhelming odds than military prowess. Their forces did limit the advance of the French assault on the island of Taiwan. Significantly, at the Battle of Lang Son in northeast Annam (Vietnam), they were able to force the withdrawal of a smaller and poorly deployed French force.

The Chinese ground forces were holding key terrain in Annam when the final session of peace negotiations began in 1884. However, the naval forces equipped at great cost were in ruins and the weaknesses in leadership and organization exposed. Although land operations had shown some promise, the overall result of the conflict was another humiliating defeat at the hands of a foreign power. This weakness in its military contributed to an additional diplomatic setback in Southeast Asia. In addition to its loss of influence in what became French Indochina (Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia), in 1885, the British were ceded control of Burma, another Chinese tributary state. [33] A little over fifty years later, Burma and the critical lines of communication to Jiang's wartime capital in west central China would become the key battle ground for the British, Chinese, and American allies and their collective efforts to defeat Japan in the Second World War.

> The Sino-French War of 1884-85 was China's first test of its newly modernized army and navy. During the previous two decades, China's opponents had included political rebels, ethnic separatists, and religious militants, most of whom were less developed technologically than Han infantry and Qing Bannermen. Now for the first

time since the Opium and Arrow Wars, the Chinese faced a modern European army and navy. Clearly, China failed the test.[34]

Less than a decade later, China was involved in an even more devastating and humiliating foreign conflict. The Sino-Japanese War of 1894-1895 was the direct outcome of a ten-year challenge by Japan to replace China's influence in Korea. The key precipitating cause of the outbreak of hostilities was a request from the Korean king for military support to help put down a local rebellion. By treaty, both China and Japan were committed to send forces, but Japan was in a better position militarily to respond. In late July of 1894, Japan's navy sank a Chinese troopship leased from Britain carrying reinforcements to the peninsula. On land Japanese ground elements attacked and defeated a Chinese force garrisoned near Seoul. Despite attempts by outside powers to bring about a diplomatic solution, war was declared on the 1st of August 1894. On both land and sea, over the course of the conflict, the Chinese forces were consistently defeated as the war spread to northern Korea, Manchuria, the Shandong peninsula southeast of Beijing, and to the island of Taiwan. The treaty ending the war ceded Taiwan to Japan and that island would remain under their control for the next fifty years.[35]

Bruce Elleman in his *Modern Chinese Warfare, 1795-1989* quotes Ralph L. Powell on why the Chinese military failed so miserably during this conflict. "[These] defeats can be explained by the decentralization of command, the lack of specialization, the inadequacy of training, and the shortage of modern weapons." Even more important was the corruption that extended from top to bottom of not only the military hierarchy, but also the civil bureaucracy. Elleman also quotes Allen Fung that the problem was the "quality of the officer corps," and the "numerical inferiority of Chinese soldiers with real fighting value."[36] The result of this military defeat by a country with a population one-tenth the size of China's was the humiliating 1895 Treaty of Shimonseki. China was forced to pay a huge indemnity; recognize Korean

independence; cede Taiwan to Japan; open up more ports to trade and commerce; and, before being forced to give up its claim by European powers, gave Japan the Liaodong peninsula, a year round port with access into the Manchurian interior. The shock of this stunning defeat at the hands of the "lowly" Japanese finally seemed to mobilize the ruling dynasty to greater activity to improve its military forces. Elleman, quoting works by Allen Fung and George F. Natziger, concludes the following about the Chinese military at the turn of the 20th Century:

> For the first time, not only was Beijing losing control over its tributary states, but over large sections of China's traditional colonial Empire as well. The Sino-Japanese War, therefore, more than any other event, began the process whereby foreign powers "partitioned" China...This resulted in a period of intense military reforms, beginning with the creation of the "Newly Established Army" in 1895. The immediate success of these reforms was revealed in 1900 during the Boxer Uprising, when the Chinese army was quickly able to cause serious problems for even first-rate [Western] armies.[37]

At the turn of the twentieth century, the rapid rise, modernization, and aggressiveness of Japan as a major military power was of interest, and possibly concern for the other powers in the region. However, the weakness of China and expanding foreign encroachments was troubling for the United States that sought a sovereign China open to unencumbered foreign trade. In order to check the process of the partitioning of China, also characterized as "carving up the melon," in 1899, the United States Secretary of State John Hay offered the "Open Door" policy.[38] At this same time, the United States military was involved in a war with a European power in the Caribbean, and more importantly for America's future role in China, in the Pacific. After the quick defeat of Spanish military forces on land and sea, American Army and Marine units now occupied Cuba and were heavily involved in stabilizing the Philippines as the result of its successful 1898-1899 naval and land campaigns.

Large numbers of U.S. ground forces deployed to the Philippines to deal with the subsequent conventional conflict with the indigenous independence movement led by Emilio

Aguinaldo. This campaign later evolved into a long and bitter guerrilla warfare campaign. The United States was now a growing power in Asia and had both ground and naval forces permanently stationed forward. The U.S. was positioned to begin to play a greater role diplomatically and militarily in the region, and especially in China. The quotation below is taken from the opening pages of the Department of State's *United States Relations With China, With Special Reference to the Period, 1944-1949.*

> The anti-foreign disturbances in China in 1900, usually referred to as the Boxer Rebellion, afforded the United States (which had participated with the other Powers in a joint expeditionary sent to rescue the beleaguered legations in Peking) an opportunity to make a statement of policy which went a step beyond the Open Door notes of the preceding year. In a circular note to the participating Powers, dated July 3, 1900, Hay declared that the "policy of the Government of the United States is to seek a solution" of the difficulties in China which would "preserve Chinese territorial and administrative entity" and "safeguard for the world the principle of equal and impartial trade with all parts of the Chinese Empire.[39]

American Military Forces: On the Ground in China

The Boxer Rebellion or Uprising was the result of the interplay of complex domestic and international factors.[40] The Boxers or "Righteous and Harmonious Fists" (Yihe Chuan), began in the late 1800s as an anti-foreign, anti-Manchu movement of religious fanatics who believed their magical powers could make them impervious to the effect of weapons. The uprising began in the 1890s with sporadic attacks on Western missionaries and especially their Chinese converts in the Shantung (Shandong) region. In early 1900, the Boxers (many of who were unemployed youth as a result of floods and the loss of agricultural opportunities in the area south of the capital) moved north to Beijing. In June, as Chinese imperial forces looked on, the Boxers began a siege of the foreign legation area of the capital. Foreign governments were unable to get the Chinese dynastic rulers to act against the Boxers and protect their citizens. In reaction to this inactivity and apparent acquiescence by the Chinese government and its forces, from June through August

1900, a multinational coalition of foreign militaries mounted a series of military operations. Eight nations' military forces were involved in the defense of the foreign legation in Beijing, or the foreign concession area of Tianjin, or took part in international expeditionary relief operations that began in the coastal area of Taku (Dagu). A force comprised of army, navy and marine units from Russia, Japan, France, Italy, Germany, Austro-Hungry, Great Britain, and the United States were finally able to break through and rescue the besieged foreign diplomats, civilians, troops, and Chinese Christian converts in Beijing.

After one failed attempt by a smaller multinational force of several thousand, that included U.S. Marines and Sailors, in August a force of about 18,000 was assembled. Their mission was to again move on Beijing and rescue the legations. This force included a USMC battalion and elements of the U. S. Army's 9th and 14th Infantry Regiments, the 6th Cavalry, and accompanying artillery under the command of Major General Adna Chafee. Over the next three weeks, this force fought from the Tianjin/Dagu area through to Beijing. The initial success of the Boxers in driving out foreign missionaries, besieging the legation, and defeating the first foreign rescue mission led the Qing regime of Tz'u-hsi (Cixi), the Empress Dowager, to order the Imperial forces to join with the Boxers to oppose the second foreign relief expedition.

The successful foreign rescue was accomplished in a series of operations that began by seizing the Dagu forts on the coast, moving overland and securing Tianjin, and then driving on to Beijing a total distance of almost one hundred miles over mostly flat terrain crisscrossed with rivers, streams, and canals. While the exact size of the opposing Chinese forces in not known, it is estimated that from 60-90 thousand Imperial troops and over 100 thousand Boxers attempted to stop the invading multinational force of less than twenty thousand. This loosely organized foreign force whose largest contingents were Japanese and Russian troops inflicted another

humiliating and disastrous defeat on the Qing government that was forced to sue for peace and once again signed another "unequal" and financially costly treaty.[41]

Foreign forces were now again in control of China's capital, the key city of Tianjin, and a secure route to the coast. An indigenous rebel movement armed with magic, swords and lances had been defeated, and its surviving elements were hunted down and destroyed by the foreign forces as they enacted their revenge. The Imperial forces in the Beijing area, some armed with modern weapons and equipment, had also been defeated, and although the Qing government survived, its ability to rule and control its own territory was now even more in doubt. Elleman makes three points in the conclusion to his chapter on the Boxer Rebellion that indicate how much this uprising was a turning point in China's history and in its military modernization.

First, were the ominous "declarations of neutrality" by key Qing officials in southern China who refused to join with the central government to declare war on the foreign powers. Second, the military units these officials controlled, among them the Imperial General Yuan Shikai who would become the leader of China shortly after the Revolution of 1911 at the beginning of what has come to be known as the warlord era, "declined to come to Peking's aid." Third,

> ... The Boxer Uprising was a major psychological watershed in the history of Chinese military development. China's military modernization had begun much earlier, but the appearance of the Boxers represented a temporary retreat from this modernization. In particular, the Boxer's reliance on traditional Chinese martial arts, not to mention their use of swords and lances to oppose modern weapons, failed miserably.... The only road left open to China after the Boxers was to modernize and adopt western methods.[42]

While the demand to modernize may have been the only road left open, what that modernization would look like in terms of organization and especially in terms of professionalism and political role was still not clear.

The Boxer Protocols, negotiated for the Qing regime by the now elder public official, Li Hongzhang, was signed in September of 1901 officially ending the conflict. In addition to a large indemnity, the agreement established a permanent foreign military presence to guard the legations and maintain a corridor from the coastal Dagu forts to the capital to protect the foreign population in the Beijing-Tianjin area. Of note, the American portion of the indemnity was used to bring more Chinese students to the United States.[43] Perhaps more importantly for military modernization, foreign weapons purchases were forbidden for two years.[44] This was an indication that the Western powers and Japan recognized that Chinese forces, properly led, equipped and trained, had the potential to be a formidable and capable foe. Not allowing them to buy more foreign weapons was seen as a way to keep China from increasing its military strength and opposing future interventions, especially while all the foreign powers maintained significant, but not overwhelming numbers of forces in the country. However, while some improvement could be seen at the tactical level, the lack of central control, inability to coordinate large formations, and the independence and autonomy of regionally controlled militias also reaffirmed China's systemic military weakness. Once again, modern weapons, formations, and training programs are only part of what make a capable military force.

Beginning in 1900, the U.S. would continuously maintain military personnel in China for most of the next fifty years. The Marines, and at times U.S. Army forces, guarded the legation in Beijing and deployed additional units to China in times of crisis. At various times beginning in the aftermath of the Boxer Rebellion, the Army's 9th, 14th and 15th Infantry Regiments with supporting arms conducted occupation and stabilization duties, predominantly in the area of Tianjin. Additional U.S. Army units from the Philippines reinforced and supported the forces in place. Concurrently, while the U.S. Navy had operated in and around China since the 1850s, the

Asiatic Squadron was expanded to patrol coastal and inland waters in the early 1900s to protect American citizens and insure the free flow of commerce.[45] Competition over markets and inland transportation lines among the international powers maintaining military forces in China was getting more difficult and complicated. China was fast losing control over its own territory and governmental prerogatives.

In 1904, two of America's Boxer Rebellion allies, Russia and Japan, commenced hostilities over control of key territory and lines of communication in Manchuria and northeast China. Japan's decisive victory at sea at the Battle of Tsushima Straits, and costly, but successful offensive operations on land against Russian forces on Chinese territory on the Liaodong Peninsula and in Manchuria, presaged that nation's coming dominance in northeast Asia. Russia was militarily defeated by this newly emerging Asian power and was forced to make concessions to the Japanese in the Treaty of Portsmouth in 1905. This diplomatic effort earned President Theodore Roosevelt the Nobel Peace Prize. However, this did not cause Russia to retreat from Asia, nor abandon its efforts to further its security and economic interests in China. This essentially foreign war waged on its territory was further evidence of China's diplomatic and military weakness and the collapse of the dynastic form of government was not long in coming.[46] After one more centrally directed attempt at "self-strengthening" and Westernization, in 1911, Qing dynasty internal family intrigue and regime weakness reached crises proportions. What started as a local revolt in Wuhan in central China soon spread across the country.[47]

During the period between the Boxer Rebellion and the Revolution of 1911, another American soldier of fortune in the mold of Frederick Townsend Ward of the Ever Victorious Army played a role in China. Homer Lea entered into a relationship with a group of Chinese dissidents led by a former regime senior official, Kang Yu-wei (Kang Youwei), intent on

overthrowing the dynastic rule of Empress Dowager Cixi. Lea, a Stanford University student with no military background, joined a secret Chinese society in San Francisco and began a decade of support to the revolutionary movement of Sun Yat-sen (Sun Zhongshan). He traveled to China during the Boxer Rebellion where he undertook the task of traveling around the country organizing Chinese revolutionary forces. Achieving little success, he returned to California and began raising funds for the cause in the United States. He also embarked on an effort to recruit and train Chinese youth in America by utilizing military personnel who had served in China. He supported Sun's efforts to raise money and garner support when he visited the United States. He also accompanied Sun to London and Paris to raise funds and returned to China with him. Lea, with promises from Sun of a senior position in the new Chinese military, arrived in China in December of 1911 shortly after the revolution. Chinese military leaders who had no need of his assistance soon marginalized lea. In 1912, Lea contracted influenza, returned to the United States, and failing to recover died later that year.[48]

In 1912, after over seventy years of internal turmoil and foreign encroachments, the once powerful Qing dynasty finally collapsed and the Republic of China emerged under the temporary leadership of Sun Yat-sen, a southern Chinese medical doctor and political activist who had attended school in the United States. Turmoil soon followed and Yuan Shikai, a senior military officer in the Qing regime, soon replaced Sun as the leader of the Republic of China. In that year, the U.S. Fifteenth Infantry was deployed to China and moved into barracks in the area around Tianjin. This regiment began a permanent American basing structure that would continue until 1938 as China struggled internally for unity, stability, and competent governance. While sometimes under the direct command of military superiors in Washington or in the Philippines, more often than not, the unit's instructions came from the State Department's most senior

representative in China. The regiment also operated within an ever-changing coalition of allied forces conducting what would now be called a "presence" or multinational peace mission or stability operations.

The primary mission of this unit was to show the flag and keep the corridor open and safe from the embassy compounds in Beijing to the coast. In concert with the other foreign powers including Japan and Russia, American forces were also there to protect its citizens residing in China, whether embassy official, businessman, or missionary. The 15th Regiment arrived immediately after the formation of the Republic of China when the stability of China after thousands of years of dynastic rule was very much in doubt. American forces in China were part of a Pacific military presence in the Philippines, Hawaii, and at sea emblematic of the United States growing power and influence in global affairs. The command and staff alumni of the 15th Regiment who would serve in China over the coming decades included some of America's most distinguished military officers.[49]

First among these was George C. Marshall who played a crucial role in U.S.-China policy formation and implementation under two presidential administrations (Roosevelt and Truman). The list also includes the two officers, Joseph W. Stilwell and Albert C. Wedemeyer, who later represented the United States military in China during the Second World War as commanders of the China-Burma-India and then China Theaters, respectively. Both would also serve as Chief of Staff to Generalissimo Jiang Jieshi, heading America's military advisory effort. In addition, David D. Barrett, who would command the first military observer mission to Mao's Communist headquarters at Yan'an, served in the regiment as a company grade officer. Two other distinguished military leaders who would later serve in key positions during the Korean War, Matthew B. Ridgeway and Walton H. Walker, also spent time in the 15th as young officers.

Living in China and often being forced to interact with military and governmental officials from a variety of Chinese factions demanded the officers and men of the regiment acquire what is now called "situational awareness" as well as cultural understanding, and at least rudimentary language skills. Marshall, who served as the acting commander of the unit at a crucial time during the warlord period in the 1920s, instituted programs to improve language and cultural knowledge in the regiment. Stilwell, who served under Marshall, "was acknowledged as the unofficial 'dean' of the regiment's 'Chinese Language College'.[50] Barrett's dedication to the study of language and culture was especially notable. However, the following sentiment also highlights the Army's ambivalent attitude toward time away from operational units for in-depth language and area studies.

> The year 1924 found Barrett in Peking, assigned to the American legation as an assistant military attaché for language study. This set him apart from career-minded officers who considered attaché and language study duty as superfluous to true soldierly military experience, though two important exceptions who played a role in Barrett's later career, Marshall and Stilwell, thought otherwise.[51]

The experience of the 15th Regiment in China, while contributing to the Army's understanding of China, its people and political situation, did not include advising or assisting in the building of a modern Chinese military for the emerging republic. In 1915, after the death of Yuan Shikai, a general from the Imperial Army who took power from Sun Zhongshan in the early days of the republic, China once again erupted into the chaos of regionalism and warlordism. There was really no central government to support or national Army to build in the early years of the American military deployment. However, by the beginning of the 1920s, Jiang emerged as Sun's senior military commander with a power base of operations in southern China. Jiang had attended military school in Japan and served for a brief time in a Japanese Imperial Army artillery unit. According to Edward L Dreyer, in 1911, while most of Chinese military

officers were graduates of provincial military academies, some 800 had studied in Japan. The Army that emerged after the 1911 Revolution contained elements of both a nationalist army and forces with strong regional roots and leadership.[52] Jiang represented the revolutionary nationalist faction of officers trained in the Western tradition. In 1923, Sun sent him to the Soviet Union to observe their military system as a potential model for China's future military.[53]

The Rise of Jiang Jieshi, Huangpu Military Academy, and Foreign Military Advisors

In 1924, with Sun's backing, Jiang established Whampoa (Huangpu) Military Academy in the Canton area under the tutelage of Soviet military advisors whose tasks are enumerated below:

> 1. To organize and instruct a National Revolutionary Army in the South of China for national liberation from the yoke of imperialism and for the unification into one independence democratic republic.
> 2. To give every assistance to the government [at Canton] by working in the army and among the population in order to promote democratic principles.
> 3. To make popular the doctrine of Communism and Sovietism and to work toward bringing about complete rapprochement and [mutual] support between China and the U.S.S.R. and to create in the Army, in the labor organizations, and in the peasantry the desire for further revolutionary movement .[54]

Clearly, these tasks outline the building of a revolutionary army of a political-military nature with strong connections to the Communist Soviet Union. Sun's speech at the opening of the academy speaks to the need for a strong military capability, as without it "the Chinese revolution will be foredoomed from its beginnings."[55] Sun had learned this the hard way in 1912 as General Yuan Shikai had pushed him aside and taken over the leadership of the new republic. However, within a month of the founding of the Huangpu Academy, "Chiang and the Soviet advisers differed substantially on important points concerning curriculum and management of the academy.[56] Ultimately, the Soviet advisors acceded to some of Jiang's demands, but the program of mixing political and military training went forward, but not without modifications

specified by Jiang. One of the trump cards the Soviets could play was the offer of military equipment, the shipment of which began by the early fall of 1924. Nevertheless, the curbs put on the Soviet advisors and modifications of the program at Huangpu demonstrated Jiang's independence and willingness to impose his own ideas on a foreign partner when his political prerogatives were threatened.

Virtually as soon as the initial Huangpu training regiment was equipped, it was put into action. These units soon gained a reputation as effective, capable, and disciplined military forces. The young officer corps that led these units grew increasingly loyal to Jiang and more than willing to do his bidding. This was not yet a national army, but it was a core element of what would emerge as first the National Revolutionary Army and, eventually, the Nationalist Army of the Republic of China. Despite the obvious success of his new army, Jiang remained uncomfortable with some of the more political aspects of the Soviet program. In 1926, he moved against the Chinese leftist factions being nurtured by the Soviets and essentially marginalized their power and influence by "removing Soviet advisors from administrative and executive posts..."[57] Jiang very early on showed willingness to put foreign advisors in their place and maintain a leading Chinese position in organizing and training his forces.

Jiang emerged as a more powerful political and military leader after the death of Sun in 1925. From 1924-1926, he not only out-maneuvered the Soviets advisors, but also the Chinese left leaning factions and key southern warlords by diplomatic action, battlefield victories, or backroom political dealings. In late 1926, he prepared to conduct a major offensive campaign [The Northern Expedition] to expand Chinese territory under Nationalist control. He did this against the advice of the Soviet advisors.[58] Once again, his independence and sense of nationalism and purpose trumped foreign advice. F.F. Liu sums up the situation very succinctly.

> .... [The Soviets] gradually came to realize that Chiang and his associates would not be docile puppets. The China-for-the-Chinese and China-for-world-revolution movements clashed head-on. Chiang Kai-shek, M.N. Roy, Joseph Stalin, and Leon Trotsky all had their version of the story, but in the final analysis it came down simply to the basic clash between the Reds, who wanted to enlist the Chinese in revolution and were willing to expend money and men to accomplish this, and Chiang and the Kuomintang, who had different purposes and who were willing to accept all of the assistance but little of the domineering advice the Soviets cares to give.[59]

Jiang still had to have a supply of military equipment and funding in order to prevail on the battlefield and successfully conduct his campaign to move north and unify the country under his leadership and direction. Jiang practiced a very careful game to maintain both his leadership position and continued foreign support--a practice that would often be repeated in the coming decades.

Part of the answer to the armament problems were to capture the Chinese arsenals and munitions plants as his forces moved into the vital commercial Yangzi river heartland. The existence of these facilities in part can be traced back to the efforts of the Self-Strengthening Movement of the mid-1800s. Another aspect of Jiang's political and military progress was that success breeds success and allies. His Northern Expedition campaign with key supporting warlords and the loyal Huangpu faction achieved victory after victory on the battlefield. Following on the initial successes of this campaign, by April of 1927, Jiang was able to set up a new Nationalist government capital in Nanjing. He then continued to further consolidate power and began to interact internationally from a position of greater strength with the foreign powers who still maintained influence and extensive commercial interests in China.

Having marginalized the Soviet influence in 1926 and gained a measure of strength and independence with his military victories, he now moved to reorganize his military using a German model and advisors. "When in the spring of 1927, Jiang decided to dispense with his Soviet military advisors, it was a former German colonel, Dr. Max Bauer, who he appointed as

his military aide."[60] As F.F. Liu outlines in his classic work, *A Military History of Modern China, 1924-49,* while Jiang admired the efficient and professional military system and organization of the Germans, China did not yet have a corps of professionally trained and educated officers needed to make truly revolutionary changes in organization and training in his armed forces.[61]

The task of organizing, manning, training, and equipping the armed forces of a nation as large as China still emerging from the legacy of thousands of years of dynastic rule, an incomplete revolution, and encumbered with a century of foreign interference was daunting. Jiang's task was not made any easier with both internal and external military influences including at different times advisors from Japan, the Soviet Union and Germany. Perhaps more importantly, China had not fully developed a cadre of its own military professionals. "On the whole the reorganized military structure in the China of 1928 was cumbersome and unusually intricate. Too much complexity can always threaten to plunge the whole organization into anarchy especially when there is a shortage of both competent administrators and working experience."[62] To maintain the momentum of officer education, the Huangpu Military Academy was moved from Canton (Guangzhou) in southern China to Jiang's new capital, Nanjing, in the eastern central part of the country. This important school for Jiang's emerging officer corps was renamed the Central Military Academy. With expanded capacity and access to greater numbers of qualified applicants, the school was charged with the dual task to "prepare junior officers adequately versed in political knowledge, "and especially, "to provide advanced and specialized training to officers of the senior grades in the armed forces."[63] While Jiang had rejected the political-military system of the Soviets, he still recognized the need for political training in the building of loyal nationalistic forces.

In the late 1920s, Jiang not only took on the task of building a competent and modern military force and organizing a government, he also continued military campaigns to reunite the country by bringing under control the various regional armies, especially those of the northern warlords. Additionally, Jiang moved to neutralize the power and influence of the left or Communist wing of the Nationalist Party, the Kuomintang (Guomindang), He targeted the Communists who had previously worked alongside the Nationalists and supported Sun's efforts to build a strong, socialist Republic of China. However, Jiang's dramatic, though ultimately unsuccessful, "Shanghai Massacre" in 1927 did not completely eradicate the left wing of the Nationalist movement including Mao Tse-tung (Mao Zedong), who had been a labor organizer in southern China, and Chou En-lai (Zhou Enlai), who had served as his deputy commander at the Huangpu Military Academy. The Communist survivors were able to retreat into the hinterland and rebuild support and military capabilities. They established remote sanctuaries in eastern and central China called Chinese Communist Soviets. This was the beginning of the Communist effort to build a guerrilla army. While internal factors dominated Jiang's political-military agenda, the Japanese military efforts in the early 1930s to advance their interests in northeastern China and Manchuria could not be overlooked.

Following the Mukden (Shenyang) Incident in 1931 the Japanese military became more aggressive in Manchuria resulting in 1933 with the declaration of the puppet government of Manchukuo (Country of the Manchu) headed by the last emperor of China, Puyi. These actions served over time as a catalyst to bring the various factions vying for power in China together to oppose the growing Japanese threat. The most famous action to bring about this "second united front" was the kidnapping of Jiang by the northern warlord Zhang Xueliang and several supporting Nationalist generals in the northwestern city of Sian (Xian).[64] Since the early 1930s,

the Nationalist forces had conducted a series of "extermination" campaigns the fifth and last of which drove the Communist armies out of southern China on a fighting retreat that is now famously known as the Long March. It was during this extended fighting retreat that Mao gained the leadership of the Communist movement in China.

The Soviets, through the Communist International or COMINTERN, provided military advisors to the Chinese Communist movement. Chinese Communists were provided political training both in the Soviet Union and in China. However, during the Long March, in a dispute over military tactics, Mao took control of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) and the Red Army.[65] As with Jiang at Huangpu, the Soviet advisors were also marginalized as their military advice was seen to have been a key factor in the Communist military defeats that led to the loss of their sanctuaries and created the necessity to conduct the Long March. The Kansas City journalist, Edgar Snow's book *Red Star Over China* first published in 1938, chronicles this epic retreat to remote northwest China. In 1936, Jiang had traveled to Xian to meet with his military leadership to plan for a climatic final assault on the newly established Communist sanctuary in northern Shaanxi Province. However, several of his key subordinates had decided to take matters into their own hands.

The Xian Incident was a conspiracy by key Nationalists and the Communist Zhou Enlai, who had been Jiang's deputy commandant at Huangpu Military Academy. The kidnapping of Jiang from a mountain resort area outside the city led to lengthy negotiations. Under still disputed circumstances, an agreement was finally reached with Jiang to form a "Second United Front." This brought together virtually all the Chinese--Nationalist, Communist, and warlord--to oppose further Japanese aggression. While the facts of the kidnapping are still argued between the Communists and the Nationalists, the effect was to force Jiang stop his offensive campaign

against the Communist and to take a stand against Japanese occupation and aggression. All out war with Japan was not long in coming. On July 7th, 1937 an incident at the Marco Polo Bridge on the western side of Beijing precipitated all out war between China and Japan. However, China, Jiang, the Communists, and the still autonomous warlords[66] were ill prepared for the coming conflict with the powerful, modern, well-trained, -led and -equipped forces of Japan's Kwantung Army. Jiang's forces, especially the German trained and equipped Huang faction units, appeared strong in relation to the risk averse, poorly equipped regional warlords, and poorly armed guerrilla groups forced to survive in China's hinterland. However, when forced to fight the powerful Japanese forces using modern battlefield tactics and equipment, the flaws in the Nationalist Army's leadership and preparation were again obvious. The time of the fight was not Jiang's choosing.

By 1937, the German advisory effort had grown significantly and was helping to build a modern, but limited in size and strength Chinese military force. These advisors had worked with Jiang and the Nationalist government on issues of building additional industrial infrastructure and procuring additional armaments. Twenty divisions had been manned and equipped and a plan to increase the total to 60 fully equipped divisions had been promulgated. The Nationalist Army had shown impressive growth in capability and much of this was centered on officer education and training. F.F. Liu outlines the establishment of service schools including a staff college, air and naval academies, infantry, armor, mechanized, cavalry, artillery, air defense, and a variety of logistics and specialty institutes, including language schools. These were all necessary to build and support modern military structures. In addition, China sent officers for advanced military schooling overseas to Europe and the United States. This included cadets at West Point and the Virginia Military Institute, and mid-level staff officers at Fort Leavenworth.[67]

However, a major issue that American advisors would later face emerged. Liu offers the following assessment:

> However, the greatest improvement the general staff school might have made in the army's personnel system it was unable to accomplish. It failed, in the face of deep-rooted Chinese tradition and shortsighted modern generals, to consider, in choosing candidates for positions of responsibility, merit, record, proven ability, and qualities of leadership, instead of patronage.[68]

Once again, lack of time, culture and tradition, internal organizational weakness, and an aggressive and powerful external threat all conspired to impede China's progress in military modernization. That is not to say major improvements had not been made. However, an army, good or bad, is judged by how effective it proves to be against its opponents and results on the battlefield. The growing alliance between Germany and Japan would also soon mean the end to a very effective advisory effort and source of modern military equipment. In the mid-1930s, senior American military officers including Stilwell served in Nanjing as military attaches. They had watched the German advisory efforts and seen its strengths and weaknesses and how it had been received by the Chinese. They also had the opportunity to observe the capabilities of the Nationalists in the early battles with the Japanese as they moved south from Beijing, attacked Shanghai, and moved up the Yangzi river valley. Japanese not only had superiority in artillery and air forces, their leadership was able to out-maneuver the Chinese and take advantage of their outmoded tactic of strong point defense which could not withstand the modern firepower advantage of the enemy.[69]

An American Effort Emerges

From 1912 until 1937, American forces had been observers, protectors, participants, and victims of China's internecine warfare and Japanese aggression that characterized the chaos and conflict in China as the warlord era. However, actions in the second half of 1937 would lead first to a build-up of forces to protect American and other foreign civilians and financial interests, and then to the complete withdrawal of American combat units from China as the "Second Sino-Japanese War" expanded from northern China to Shanghai and then into central China. On 12 December 1937, the *USS Panay*, a Yangzi River patrol craft, was attacked and sunk by Japanese aircraft with significant casualties among the crew. While the Japanese later apologized and paid reparations, this attack highlighted the confusing situation in China and the deterioration of relations between Japan and the United States. The Fifteenth Infantry Regiment was withdrawn from China in March of 1938. While isolationist sentiment to avoid war in Europe and Asia was strong at home, there was also growing opinion back in the United States to aid China in its war against Japan.[70] While the United States military attachés in China watched and reported on the evolving conflict, another American military officer began to play an important role in the Nationalist armed forces.

Claire L. Chennault who retired from the Army Air Corps in the spring of 1937, was hired by the Chinese government as a military advisor soon after. According to his own memoirs, *Way of a Fighter*, "Less than four months later I was flying through Japanese flak and fighters over Shanghai in the midst of the Sino-Japanese war.[71] Chennault would assist the Nationalists in building its air arm and he was the force behind the creation of the American Volunteer Group (AVG), the Flying Tigers. Another American serviceman, Evans Carlson, who would later gain fame as the leader of the United States Marine Corps, 2nd Raider Battalion in

the South Pacific, spent several months in the late 1930s in China attached to the American embassy. His mission was to observe the Sino-Japanese conflict and assess the Communist forces of the Eighth Route Army in the northwest. This USMC captain would have the opportunity to talk to the American president about his findings and remained an unofficial advisor to President Roosevelt throughout the war. He left the Marine Corps in order to write a book about his experiences traveling with these guerrilla forces fighting the Japanese, *Twin Stars of China,* but rejoined the Marines in 1941 when the United States entered the War.[72]

During this period, Joseph W. Stilwell was also again in China where he served as a military attaché in the embassy charged with reporting on the performance of the Nationalist Army and the conflict. His memoir--*The Stilwell Papers*--provides significant insights into the personal feelings of an American military officer with an in-depth knowledge of the operational and tactical situation, the performance of China's armed forces and capabilities and limitations of China's key military leaders. Barbara Tuchman's book, *Stilwell and the American Experience in China, 1911-1945,* chronicles his military career and long service in Asia.[73] Stilwell was a military attaché on the ground in China from 1935-1939. These and other American military personnel, diplomats, businessmen, and missionaries kept up a steady official and unofficial correspondence back to Washington on the situation in China. Perhaps the most influential Americans in terms of providing information to the public during this period were the journalists who were reporting from China.

Some very competent and adventurous journalists including Edgar Snow, his wife Helen Snow, Theodore White, and Agnes Smedley, to mention some of the most famous, all had spent time following the Nationalist political and military situation. In some cases, they spent considerable time traveling and living with the Communist forces providing regular reporting,

articles and books on their observations. Peter Rand, whose father had been a journalist in China in the 1940s, in a book entitled, *China Hands,* examines: "...American dreamers and misfits who went to China to seek escape and adventure during the first half of this century. Some came back, others did not, but they all achieved fame and glory, however fleeting, as "China Hands" who wrote about the Chinese people and publicized their struggle."[74]

In addition to the reporting by correspondents, the situation in China was being reported through military and State Department channels by experienced observers. American missionaries also kept up a correspondence through their religious communities back in the United States. American businessmen like Herbert Hoover, who with his wife had conducted mining surveys in north China at the time of the Boxer Rebellion, knew the geography, transportation infrastructure, and availability of resources.[75] Other businessmen, like Frank Lilley, who worked in the petroleum business, took their family to live in China for a long period. One of his sons, later ambassador the China, James Lilley, would serve as a soldier in Asia during the war years.[76] Against this backdrop of interested and informed citizens, a long tradition of military involvement, and the pressing need for assistance, President Roosevelt and his advisors had to make decisions on what to do about the situation China.

By 1941, President Roosevelt and his administration had decided to assist China. The problem was how to do this without becoming directly involved in a war with Japan. The first course of action was to provide financial support and limited military aid. In July of 1937 and again in April of 1941, the United States agreed to purchase Chinese currency to help stabilize China's economy. Other economic measures were taken before the United States entered the war with Japan to assist China economically and financially including loans and credits. In addition to lend-lease to provide military equipment, which also began in 1941, the administration wanted

to find a way to support Claire Chennault and the Flying Tigers who were officially a part of the Nationalist Chinese Air Force (CAF). Chennault had become personally connected to the Generalissimo and his wife and was in effect put in charge of training and equipping the Chinese air forces.[77]

The American involvement with the CAF had actually begun in 1932 when Colonel Jack Jouett, with a small group of United States Army Air Corps (USAAC) officers, set up a training school in Hangchow (Hangzhou) in eastern China. This effort continued with limited equipping support for two years until a disagreement arose over the use of American supplied air assets by Jiang and the Nationalist military to attack a rebelling warlord in Fujian province. Jiang reacted strongly by replacing the U.S. effort with an Italian training team and aircraft support agreement. As he had done earlier when the Soviet advisors had overstepped their bounds, Jiang did not hesitate to play one potential foreign suitor off against another. He also showed he would react quickly and negatively to any attempt to usurp his leadership prerogatives. This was the background and situation in the CAF in 1937 when Chennault arrived in China to attempt to prepare Jiang's air force to hold their own against a very well equipped Japanese force with excellent pilots.

Chennault offered his services in the evolving war with Japan to Jiang after the July 7 incident. He was hired to train the fighter pilots of the CAF that was equipped with a mix of American and Italian aircraft. In a short space of time, he became a personal advisor to the Generalissimo with unique access. Perhaps more importantly, he was essentially given a broad mandate to direct the operations of China's entire air arm. When the Japanese attacked Shanghai in August of 1937, Chennault was in the air over that city observing and directing operations.[78] Having proven himself to Jiang and having direct access, he began the process of building a

competent force in the midst of war. His access and friendship with the Generalissimo and Madame Jiang would also be a source of continuing problems within the American military chain of command. His view of how to conduct the war against the Japanese, and how it was to be supported, was frequently at odds with his American superiors in China. This problem did not go away when he was later promoted to general officer rank and reintegrated back into the Army Air Corps.

While no official government military assistance had been provided from the United States to oppose Japan's aggression in China in 1937, the Soviet Union responded with a limited deployment of fighters and bombers with their crews to assist the Chinese in their war with Japan.[79] While the Communist had rejected Soviet support, Josef Stalin maintained a relationship with Jiang and the Nationalists. However, neither Chennault nor the Soviets were a match for the Japanese air force that showed itself to be capable of gaining and maintaining air superiority over China. In 1938, Chennault moved to Kunming in southwestern China to begin the arduous task of re-building the air force far away from the action and relatively safe from Japanese air attacks. He was selected for this effort by direction of Madame Jiang (Soong Mei-ling),[80] the powerful and well-connected wife of the Generalissimo, a woman who spoke perfect English and who had graduated from Wellesley College in Massachusetts. Chennault's mandate was to train, man, and if possible, equip the Chinese Air Force (CAF) for the long conflict ahead. Chennault offered the following about working with the Chinese. While this highlights cultural differences and the difficult situation facing foreign advisors and trainers, it also points out that even those showing up in a foreign country with virtually no language or cultural skills or training can build effective relationships.

> Teaching is a difficult job at best. With mechanically minded Americans teaching classically educated Chinese to fly, there was ample opportunity for all the clashing

> elements of the two conflicting civilizations to rub raw against each other in nerve-wracking discord. In later years, many American newcomers to China marveled at my ability to deal smoothly with the Chinese and generally attributed it to some occult touch. The ability was acquired the hard way through years of experience--often bitter, often painful, but always instructive.[81]

In addition to the problem of building the human elements of an air force, there was the problem of equipping the force with modern aircraft capable of defeating the well equipped and early in the war, technically superior and well-manned Japanese air arm. The problem was more than just training pilots. A system had to be instituted to obtain the necessary fuel, ammunition, and replacement parts and airframes to maintain that capability. In October of 1940, Jiang sent Chennault and the senior Chinese general in the CAF to Washington to obtain aircraft and recruit American pilots to serve in China. After a year of arduous lobbying and acquisition work, China was allowed to buy 100 P-40Bs originally scheduled for Britain that were swapped out for newer models. Despite strong opposition from the U.S. military, former service pilots and ground crew were hired under contract to the private Central Aircraft Manufacturing Company (CAMCO) for service in China. By July of 1941, men and equipment started to flow out of the United States and Chennault was notified of "presidential approval for the second American Volunteer Group of bombers with a schedule of one hundred pilots and 181 gunners and radiomen to arrive in China by November of 1941 and an equal number to follow in January 1942."[82]

U.S. defense assistance to China, unofficial and not fully supported by the military services, was ingeniously engineered by an American "contractor" working under the direct employ of a foreign government. He doggedly negotiated directly with American military equipment manufacturers to procure aircraft for the Nationalists. Given the size of the Chinese military and the enormity of the threat, this small, peripheral effort was no model for support given the magnitude of the need to prepare China for its war with Japan. President Roosevelt

sought alternatives to support America's allies currently at war with Germany and Italy in Europe, and Japan in Asia. The answer that emerged was a program called lend-lease. This arms sales program approved by Congress in March of 1941, immediately began providing access to military equipment and material to the European theater, especially Britain and the Soviet Union, but China was also part of this innovative program.

In January of 1940, President Roosevelt sent a trusted economic advisor, Lauchlin Currie, to China to assess that country's requirements. Over the past two years, four loans totaling over a $100 million in economic assistance had been provided, but this was not nearly enough and had come with strings attached concerning the purchase of military supplies and equipment in order not to antagonize Japan. In May of 1941, the defense of China was "declared vital to the defense of the United States."[83] At the same time, Jiang established the China Defense Supply (CDS) company under the direction of T.V. Soong (Song Ziwen), the brother of Madame Jiang, a close financial advisor to the Generalissimo, and a future Chinese foreign minister. Song was a Harvard graduate, very well connected, and informed about the American political process. He served as the point man for China's defense purchases for several years. However, with lend lease equipment authorized; financing being made available, the problem was getting the equipment and war materials to China. Japan controlled most of the ports along the China coast as well as those in Indochina. France's surrender to Germany allowed the Japanese to occupy Vietnam. Britain had also closed the port of Hong Kong for the transshipment of military aid to China in order not to prematurely push Japan into war on British controlled areas of Asia. Burma's port of Rangoon and the long and difficult road and rail network that ran north to China was China's only viable lifeline.[84]

To facilitate lend lease to China, Brigadier General John Magruder, another officer who had previously served in China as a military attaché, was sent to Jiang's wartime capital, Chungking (Chongqing), as the first director of the American Military Mission to China (AMMISCA).[85]

> In July 1941, the Division of Defense Aid Reports, China Defense Supplies, and the War Department started to canvass the possibilities for equipping and training large numbers of Chinese ground forces. These decisions resulted in a project for completely reequipping 30 Chinese divisions under Lend-Lease by the end of 1942. Artillery, anti-aircraft guns, armored vehicles, and tanks were to be sent from the United States. In addition, machinery and supplies for China's arsenals would be sent to help increase her own output of small arms and ammunition.
>
> In anticipation of the arrival of these supplies, an American military mission under Brigadier General John Magruder arrived in Chungking in November 1941.The mission supported by Lend-Lease funds was composed of specialists in all the phases of modern warfare. They were to survey China's needs for additional arms and help train the Chinese troops in the use of American equipment.[86]

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[1]John King Fairbank, *Chinese-American Interactions: A Historical Summary* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1975), 11-13.

[2]John King Fairbank, *Chinabound: A Fifty Year Memoir* (New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1982). Parts Four and Five of this book discuss his time in China in detail.

[3]James L. Hevia, *English Lessons: the Pedagogy of Imperialism in Nineteenth-Century China* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press Books, 2003), 4. Hevia calls the Western approach to China beginning in 1839 (The Opium War) "Euroamerican imperialism."

[4]Mark Peattie, Edward J. Drea, and Hans van de Ven, eds., *The Battle for China: Essays on the Military History of the Sino-Japanese War* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2011). Peattie in a chapter entitled "Dragon's Seed," outlines the march to war from Japan's invasion of Taiwan in 1870 to the clash between Chinese and Japanese troops on 7 July 1937.

[5]Kemp Tolley, *Yangtze River Patrol: The U.S. Navy in China* (Annapolis, MD: US Naval Institute Press, 1971), 2-4.

[6]Samuel B. Griffith, trans., *Mao Tse-Tung on Guerrila War* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1961).

[7]Bruce A. Elleman, *Modern Chinese Warfare, 1795-1989* (New York: Routledge, 2001), 2-4.

[8]John King Fairbank, *Trade and Diplomacy on the China Coast: The Opening of the Treaty Ports, 1842-1854* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1964), 155. This study details the complex relationship China establishes with the foreign powers and contains details of treaties and agreements that we made.

[9]U.S. Department of State, *United States Relations With China: With Special Reference to the Period 1944-1949*, Department of State Publication 3573, serial Far East Series 30 (Washington, DC, August 1949). (Hereafter

cited as *China White Paper*). This controversial document was released by the Truman Administration to explain to the American public its actions toward China at the end of World War Two and though the Nationalist defeat. The documents begin with a brief synopsis of Sino-American relations beginning in the mid Nineteenth Century.

[10]Jonathan D. Spence, *The Search for Modern China*, 2nd ed. (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1999), 162-63.

[11]Arthur P. Dudden, *The American Pacific: From the Old China Trade to the Present* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 16.-21; Michael Edwards, *The West in Asia, 1850-1914* (New York: Capricorn Books, 1967), 143-52.

[12]Elleman, *Modern Chinese Warfare*, 45-51.

[13]*China White Paper*, 413.

[14]Jonathan D. Spence, *God's Chinese Son: The Taiping Heavenly Kingdom of Hong Xiuquan* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1996). Spence's study of Hong and the Taiping Rebellion discusses the formation of this movement and charts the progress of its military campaign. Mao also selects this rebellion for inclusion into his history chapter of *Mao on Guerrilla War* translated by Griffith.

[15]Elleman, *Modern Chinese Warfare*, 37.

[16]Spence, *God's Chinese Son*, 120-121.

[17]David Graff and Robin Higham, A *Military History of China*, ed. David A. Graff (Oxford: Westview Press, 2002). This overview work provides an overview of the development of Chinese military strategy and forces including the period of the Qing Dynasty. The early military conquests and problems in this period are especially well covered in *China Marches West: The Qing Conquest of Eurasia* by Peter C. Perdue.

[18]Spence, *Search for Modern China*, 27-48.

[19]Peter C. Perdue, *China Marches West: The Qing Conquest of Eurasia* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2005).

[20]Graff and Higham, *Military History of China*, 144.

[21]Caleb Carr, *The Devil Soldier: the American Soldier of Fortune Who Became God in China* (New York: Random House, 1992). This biography of Frederick Townsend Ward chronicles his background and the unique role he played in China at the time of the Taiping Rebellion.

[22]Spence, *To Change China*, 58 (see chap.1, no. 17).

[23]Ibid., 70-73.

[24]Ibid., 65.

[25]Ibid., 73.

[26]Stanley Spector, *Li HUNG-CHANG and the HUAI ARMY: a Study in Nineteenth-Century Chinese Regionalism* (Seattle, WA: University of Washington Pr, 1964), ix-xi. This biography is of one of the foremost reformers in the waning days of the Qing regime. Spector argues Li confront two "profound" conflicts, the problem of westernization and the acquisition of military power by regional political figures. Spence, *To Change China*, 215-222.

[27]Denis Twitchett, ed., *The Cambridge History of China, Volume 10, Part 1, Late Ching, 1800-1911* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1978), 491-95; Spence, *Search for Modern China*, 217-219.

[28]Ibid., 502-503.

[29]Ibid., 498.

[30]Ibid., 537-542. Spence, *Search for Modern China*, 215-220.

[31]Ibid., 503-504.

[32]Ellemann, *Modern Chinese Warfare*, 75-76.

[33]Ibid., 87-91.

[34]Ibid., 92.

[35]S.C. M. Paine, *The Sino-Japanese War of 1895-: Perception, Power and Primacy* (New York: Cambridge Press, 2005). The study of the 1st Sino-Japanese War provides an excellent source of information on this important, but little written about conflict. Elleman, *Modern Chinese Warfare*, 95-112.

[36]Elleman, *Modern Chinese Warfare*, 112.

[37]Ibid., 114-116.

[38]*China White Paper*, 2-3.

[39]Ibid., 2.

[40] Paul A. Cohen, *History in Three Keys: The Boxers as Event, Experience, and Myth* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997). This study of the Boxer Rebellion provides not only an excellent history of the key players and events of the conflict, but also the complex social, economic, political and economic issues as well. This study also uses Elleman for an evaluation of the military aspects of the rebellion.

[41]Elleman, *Modern Chinese History*, 116-137; Richard O'Connor, *The Spirit Soldiers: a Historical Narrative of the Boxer Rebellion* (New York: Putnam, 1973), 237-61. O'Connor's account describes in detail the military aspects of the conflict.

[42]Elleman, *Modern Chinese History*, 137.

[43]Dudden, *American Pacific*, 120.

[44]Elleman, *Modern Chinese History*, 135.

[45]Dudden, *American Pacific*, 121.

[46]Ibid., 122-123.

[47]Edward A. McCord. *The Power of the Gun: The Emergence of Modern Chinese Warlordism* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1993). McCord makes a compelling case for the rise of the political autonomy of military commanders at the end of the Qing through the rise of the Republic. A national Army did not rise in China as political support for Qing central forces would not allow for the rise of a truly modern Army. That task was left to the regions and the warlords, a problem that was not overcome until the establishment of the People's Liberation Army in 1949.

[48]Lawrence M. Kaplan, *Homer Lea: American Soldier of Fortune* (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 2010), 3-6.

[49]Alfred E. Cornebise, *The United States 15th Infantry Regiment in China, 1912-1938* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland and Company, 2004), 27. This book provides an historical account of this regiment's time in China outlining its mission, organization, manning, and the changes in command and control it experienced during its more than twenty-five years of duty in and around the Tianjin area.

[50]Ibid., 76-95.

[51]Ibid., 86.

[52]Edward L. Dreyer, *China at War, 1901-1949* (New York: Longman Publishing, 1995), 32-34.

[53]Jay Taylor, *The Generalissimo: Chiang Kai-Shek and the Struggle for Modern China* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009), 17-20.

[54]F. F. Liu, *A Military History of Modern China: 1924-1949* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1956), 6.

[55]Ibid., 8.

[56]Ibid., 9.

[57]Ibid., 24.

[58]Ibid.

[59]Ibid., 35.

[60]Ibid., 61.

[61]William C. Kirby, *Germany and Republican China* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1984), 3-4. This study outlines the decade from 1927 to 1937 were German military advisors exerted a significant influence over the modernization of the Chinese Nationalist armed forces.

[62]Liu, *Military History of Modern China*, 70.

[63]Ibid., 82.

[64]Taylor, *Generalissimo*, 117-137. This account of the incident provides insights into the divided nature of the Nationalist and the delicate nature of the relationship between Jiang and the regional power brokers.

[65]The Red Army was formally established in August of 1927 (bayi) and would remain the name of the Communist armed forces until liberation and the formation of the People's Republic of China when it would renamed the People Liberation Army, the name it goes by today.

[66]McCord, *The Power of the Gun*. This study discusses in detail the evolution of the warlord's period with special attention to the period after the 1911 Revolution. McCord sees the development of warlordism as part of the political process that emerged with the weakness of the Republic government and part of the process of building a new political order. The key is that for Jiang, the warlords were as much political rivals as military counterparts.

[67]Liu, *Military History of Modern China*, 83-88.

[68]Ibid., 89.

[69]Hsi-sheng Ch'i, *Nationalist China at War: Military Defeats and Political Collapse, 1937-45* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1982), 82. This study argues the political weaknesses of the Jiang's Nationalist regime were a factor of an over reliance on military power and a "peculiar pattern of relationships...that was a mixture of distrust, hostility, appeasement, and compromise. Part Three of Peattie, Drea, and van de Ven's *The Battle for China* covers the early Nationalist defense of Shanghai and the Yangzi Valley.

[70]Tolley, *Yangtze River Patrol*, 246-252.

[71]Robert B. Hotz, ed., *Way of a Fighter: The Memoirs of Claire Lee Chennault* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1949).

[72]Evans F. Carlson, *Twin Stars of China: A Behind-The Scenes Story of China's Valiant Struggle For Existence by a Marine Who Lived and Moved with the People* (Westport, CT: Hyperion Press, 1940). Carlson was attached to the American Embassy in Nanjing and had the opportunity to travel to northwest China and link up with the Communist forces, travel with them, and observe their operating tactics. He also was an observer of Japanese military operations against the Nationalists. He had served as a military assistant to President Franklin D. Roosevelt and maintained a correspondence with him. Some of his letters are in the Roosevelt Presidential Library in Hyde Park, New York.

[73]Barbara W. Tuchman, *Stilwell and the American Experience in China: 1911-1945* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1970).

[74]Peter Rand, *China Hands: The Adventures and Ordeals of the American Journalists Who Joined Forces with the Great Chinese Revolution* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1995), 15.

[75]Hal Wert, "Hoover in China: Nine Decades of Adventure, Espionage and Diplomacy in Asia," *History Today* 61, no. 9 (2011).

[76]James R. Lilley and Jeffrey Lilley, *China Hands: Nine Decades of Adventure, Espionage, and Diplomacy in Asia* (New York: Public Affairs, Perseus Book Group, 2004). Lilley provides a very personal account of growing up in China, the son of a businessman and then serving as a junior military officer during World War Two. This lead to a life in the service of the United States in intelligence and diplomatic positions, and ultimately to American Ambassador to China.

[77]*China White Paper*, 28-33.

[78]Hotz, *Way of a Fighter*, 36-46.

[79]Ibid., 61.

[80]Ibid., 73.

[81]Ibid., 75.

[82]Ibid., 104.

[83]Edward R. Stettinius Jr., *Land-lease: Weapon for Victory* (New York: MacMillan, 1944), 109.

[84]Ibid., 109-113.

[85]Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell's Mission to China*, 28-29.

[86]Stettinius, *Weapon for Victory*, 115.

THE AMERICAN MILITARY MISSION TO CHINA

Advise and Assist

"You have to live it the way they live it."

Technical Sergeant John "Red" Sweeney, US Army Ramgarh, India[1]

President Roosevelt approved the Lend-Lease Act in early March of 1941. Two months before, as the legislation was being debated in Congress, he asked his administrative assistant, Dr. Lauchin Currie, to visit China and make an assessment of their receptivity to American military support and their requirements. On 11 March, after six weeks in China, he returned and reported the Chinese were preparing to receive American assistance to include technicians and advisers.[2] By the end of the month, the Chinese had made a specific request for additional aircraft for the unofficial American Volunteer Group (AVG) program begun by Chennault to support operations and training in the China Air Force (CAF). In May of 1941, Brigadier Henry B. Clagett was dispatched from the Philippines to conduct of survey of China's air forces. Because of the problems of conducting aviation training in China itself, he recommended a program be established to train pilots and mechanics in the United States. The first fifty Chinese trainees arrived in Arizona in October of 1941 to begin flight instruction. This program continued during the war in the United States as well as at schools established in China and India.[3] The early emphasis of assistance to China was in the area of building a competent air arm to oppose the significant threat posed by Japan's air forces.

In addition to requests for assistance for the air arm, the Chinese representative in Washington, Song Ziwen, Jiang's brother-in-law,[4] also asked for munitions and equipment for up to thirty divisions. This request included a support package of equipment and expertise to improve and protect the air and landlines of communications through Burma and India to China.

Currie reported that the Chinese appeared eager to enlarge their military support relationship with the United States and were ready to build up their forces with modern American equipment.[5] According to Riley Sunderland and Charles Romanus, "Soong [Song] believed that a revitalized Chinese Army could not only hold key defensive points, thereby forcing Japan to keep troops in China, but could ultimately assume the offensive. Song estimated that with adequate lend-lease aid these strategic aims might be achieved in two years' time."[6] China was to be a key pillar in an emerging American strategy for the looming conflict in Asia. China had the manpower, but lacked the equipment and the technical training to build a competent modern military force to oppose the Japanese. The Chinese forces had conducted an extended fighting retreat and if properly trained, equipped, and led had significant potential to play a key role in the war with Japan.

When the lend lease program was established there was no administrative or support structure in place to manage the effort to provide America's allies this equipment and technical advice in its use. In addition, which countries would have the priority for American equipment was also not designated. Given the dire situation in Europe, the first order of business was to get equipment, especially ships and patrol craft, to the British. The first two lend-lease directives, promulgated in March of 1941 by President Roosevelt, designated the defense of Great Britain and Greece as vital to America's security interests.[7] China had been purchasing American equipment since the late 1930s through an Import-Export loan program, but this was more or less cash and carry and not a high priority for the American government or the nation's munitions industries. In May of 1941, China was added to the list of nations vital to America's defense and was now eligible to procure equipment and munitions as part of the new program. Song quickly established China Defense Supplies, incorporated as the agency to handle his nation's military

procurement from the United States.[8] However, just as the China program was getting started, the situation in Europe changed significantly. In June of 1941, Germany attacked the Soviet Union, and became a de facto member of the anti-Axis alliance. While not immediately given access to the lend-lease program, military equipment was quickly made available under normal purchase agreements. Reacting quickly to this strategic opportunity, by October Roosevelt made lend-lease available to the Soviets.[9] America's Europe first strategy was obvious, but Roosevelt had also made a decision to assist China.

The American military's official commitment to China in its war with Japan began on the 3rd of July 1941 with the approval by General George C. Marshall of the establishment of an American Military Mission to China (AMMISCA). The organization's mission was clearly and succinctly laid out in an August 1941 memorandum from the War Department.

> (1) Advise and assist the Chinese Government in all phases of procurement, transport, and maintenance of materials, equipment, and munitions requisite to the prosecution of its military effort.
>
> (2) Advise and assist the Chinese Government in the training of Chinese personnel in the use and maintenance of materials, equipment, and munitions supplied as defense aid material by the United States.
>
> (3) When requested assist personnel of other Departments of the [United States] Government in carrying out their respective duties in furtherance of the objectives of the Lend-Lease Act pertaining to China.
>
> (4) Assist the Chinese Government in obtaining prompt and co-ordinated administration action by the United States authorities necessary to insure the orderly flow of materials and munitions from lend-lease agencies to the Chinese military forces.
>
> (5) Explore the vital port, road, and railroad facilities with a view to the establishment and maintenance of adequate lines of communications.[10]

At this point in time, there was no requirement to provide military advisors or operational planners, which would potentially have brought American military personnel into direct combat

with Japanese forces. While the United States was committed to improving China's armed forces, it was not yet at war with Japan.

In order to accomplish the advise and assist mission, especially tasks (3) and (4) above, AMMISCA quickly established offices in both Washington, D.C. and China. The lend-lease administrators had to be able to work closely with their Chinese counterparts and other American governmental agencies in both locations.[11] These administrative and logistics tasks were obviously within the direct purview of the military in that they dealt with war materials and technical training. Nevertheless, implicitly there were political and fiscal aspects that would require civilian agency, diplomatic, and economic expertise both in Washington and in Chongqing to oversee and manage such a large and complex undertaking. The size and scope of the program was also beyond the capacity of the military personnel assigned as attachés at the American embassy in Chongqing.

Discussed later in this study are the State Department personnel and others from supporting government agencies who worked alongside the military in China. Although a contentious issue between the Departments of State and War, Ambassador Clarence E. Gauss, retained overall "coordinating jurisdiction" over the AMMISCA program.[12] Nevertheless, the military personnel in this organization would have to undertake operational missions in both China and Burma to accomplish the assigned tasks. While not at war, the American military advisory personnel were assisting a military that was at war and were physically present in a war zone.

The Advisors

> This is NOT one of those Public Relations scenarios written to glorify some individual person or group of men. It is a simple record of facts, good and bad, miserable in spots, and perhaps humorous in others. It has educational value somewhere between the lines, but real education is hidden and never can be absorbed from numbered paragraphs in field manuals.[13]

This first group of American military personnel to go to China as part of AMMISCA were breaking new ground and learning by doing. While the U.S. military had trained and equipped indigenous forces in the Philippines since the early 1900s, the scale and complexity of the mission in China was unprecedented.[14] AMMISCA had to have technical specialists and be able to carry out a variety of difficult logistics related tasks. The first major problem was to set up a depot to receive supplies and equipment in the port of Rangoon, Burma (Yangon, Myanmar).

The best overland routes to deliver supplies to the Nationalist forces would have been through Chinese eastern ports, Haiphong-Hanoi in French Indochina, or British controlled Hong Kong. By 1940, these routes were either not viable or available.[15] Therefore, American lend-lease materials had to go through Rangoon. Once landed and offloaded, in addition to storage and preparation for onward movement by river barge, truck, and railway through that country's rugged terrain, some of the inbound equipment also had to be assembled. This required the acquisition of local labor and facilities. Because a state of war did not yet exist between Japan and Great Britain, the bureaucratic peacetime customs and licensing procedures could not be expedited, a practice that continued even after the Japanese attack on Burma commenced.[16]

This first group of AMMISCA officers included active duty logistics and transportation officers, but also called for military reservists with specific technical and training skills. However, there was more to this mission than service of supply (SOS) tasks and technical skills. The senior officers had direct access to Generalissimo Jiang, his senior officers, and other important government officials. Therefore, the head of AMMISCA needed to be someone with

knowledge of the country's geography, its military organization, the workings of the American embassy, and preferably, a familiarity with the language and culture.[17]

On the eve of America's direct involvement in China, the United States Army had 28 officers who had been in China as language students and were available for duty.[18] The United States Marine Corps (USMC) also had a similar, but smaller, program to station officers in China for language training. One of these officers, Major General William Worton, would play a major role after the Japanese surrender as part of the III Marine Amphibious Corps deployment to China.[19] For these junior officers, normally in the rank of captain, the program could be as long as four years of language study while attached to the American embassy. In addition to the language officers, both the Army and the Marine Corps had maintained major combat formations from the Boxer Rebellion in 1900 through 1938 and 1941, respectively, to protect American property and citizens in China. The military had built a relatively large pool of personnel with experience working in China, and with the Chinese, as it embarked on the mission of supporting China's military in its ongoing war with Japan.

The first officer assigned to China by the United States Army as part of its newly established Military Intelligence Division language program was Joseph W. Stilwell. The primary purpose was to produce military attachés to serve at the embassy, but also to meet the potential needs of an Army coming out of World War I as a major international power with vital interests in Asia. The qualifications for selection were a solid file of efficiency reports, some aptitude for languages, and to be a volunteer. Stilwell took a year of Chinese language at the University of California at Berkeley and then, in 1919, was assigned to Beijing with his family. There, he and one other officer attended North China Union Language School; an institution originally set up to teach missionaries, but later expanded to educate businessmen and others

needing language and cultural skills. The language instruction was intensive with small group instruction progressing through the three or four year program teaching the students to be able to read Chinese characters and speak the language fluently. In 1923, his program successfully completed, the forty-year-old Stilwell, returned to the United States to teach at the Infantry school. That assignment was followed by attendance at the Command and General Staff College at Fort Leavenworth and selection to return to China as a battalion commander in the 15th Infantry Regiment in Tianjin.[20]

The program that began in 1919 with Stilwell was ongoing in 1941 when the Army was searching for qualified officers to serve in AMMISCA. Five officers, four Army and one Marine, were studying language in China as the new lend-lease support program was being established. The program had moved out of Nanjing and was reestablished in Chongqing in the late 1930s as the result of the displacement of the Chinese capital. These officers relocated to Chengtu (Chengdu) from Chongqing for safety reasons due to the Japanese bombing campaign. The Japanese air attacks continued through 1941 when the Army leadership finally decided to end the program and assigned these officers to various duties in the theater including AMMISCA.[21] The U.S. also maintained a robust embassy and consular network that included a significant number of military attachés to report on the evolving war situation and the condition of the Chinese military. As covered in the last chapter, an Army regiment (the Fifteenth Infantry), that at times had over three thousand personnel of all ranks, had operated in northeast China from 1912-1938. While this unit had not provided advisors to Chinese army units, they had lived and operated in China.

Assignments to the 15th Regiment, the language program, and service at the embassy all played a key role in preparing officers to serve in China during the period of this study. Brigadier

General William D. Connor, who took command of the regiment in 1922, "endeared himself to the Chinese, his diplomatic approach resulting in considerable good will on all sides. He was responsible for the introduction of the enforced study of the Chinese language for the personnel of the 15th."[22] In addition, the 15th Regiment's mission was "characterized by constantly changing local conditions--political, military and international....the Army's forces in China were subordinate, with respect to their mission, to the American minister [ambassador] in Peking [Beijing] and his superiors in the State Department in Washington."[23] The result of the Army's effort was an available pool of middle and senior-ranking noncommissioned and field grade officers with experience working in China, under an often ambiguous and non-standard chain of command, in a time of great internal turmoil, and alongside the forces of allies and the future enemy, Japan. Among those with long service in China in 1941 were two officers who had been through the army's language program, served as attachés, and had attained the rank of general officer--Joseph Stilwell and John Magruder.[24]

Brigadier General John Magruder, then serving as the commander of Fort Devens, Massachusetts, was selected to go to China as the head of AMMISCA. He immediately moved to Washington to study the situation, organize the part of the mission that would remain in Washington, and prepare for the move to China. In September of 1941, the first AMMICSA personnel began to arrive in China's wartime capital to begin to carry out the assigned mission. Magruder deployed to China in October to personally lead the effort to advise and assist Jiang's government and the Nationalist military forces, and especially, to facilitate the timely delivery of lend-lease equipment. The officers of AMMICSA were assigned to five project areas: "communications, aviation, military supply, arsenals, and military training."[25] The task ahead was daunting, as China's forces, both Nationalist and Communist, had suffered a string of costly

military defeats over the last more than three years of war with Japan. Although in the fall of 1941 the battle lines in China were relatively stable, China and its people had paid a terrible price in the war with Japan--militarily and economically.

AMMISCA's Strategic and Operational Environment

> It is said that China has around 5,000,000 men in her army, is organizing her country industrially and ties up some forty to fifty per cent of the Japanese land forces and probably fifty to seventy percent of the air and some of her navy. China in spite of all obstacles against her does not appear to be getting any weaker...The Chinese despite their losses of territory and heavy casualties, appear willing and able to carry on. The Japanese, unable to impose their will on the enemy may have to be content with trying to protect what they have gained.[26]

The above words are from a March 1941 Far East situation update in *Military Review*, the journal of the United States Army Command and Staff College at Fort Leavenworth. The strategic and operational situation outlined below describes the situation in China prior to the late 1941 Japanese attack on Great Britain, the Netherlands, and the United States. Although the situation is tense, and the war in Europe is not going well for the Allies, in early 1941 there was a military stasis in China and Asia.

The Japanese were now allies of the Germans who appeared to be unstoppable in Europe. The Soviets had ceased supplying and providing air support to the Nationalists in their fight against the Japanese. From 1937 to 1941, this support had been substantial as a state of war existed between Japan and the Soviet Union. The Soviets had supplied the Nationalists with hundreds of aircraft, thousands of advisors, and large quantities of ground vehicles and munitions. However, in April of 1941, Japan and the Soviet Union concluded a non-aggression pact. This resulted in the reduction and eventual ending of Soviet support to China by 1942.[27] The Germans attacked the Soviet Union in June of 1941 and the chances of Moscow reneging on the non-aggression agreement with Japan and facing the possibility of having to fight a two-front

war now seemed remote. Given the Soviets own equipment needs, restarting aid to the Nationalist was also not possible. Outside support for Mao and the Communist forces is a highly debated subject, but in the late 1930s, the Soviets and Jiang's Nationalists were allies in the fight against Japan. However, only the United States had the industrial potential to provide significant amounts of supplies and equipment to the allies. Japan's fears of a Soviet attack, similar to what had occurred in 1937 and 1938 were much reduced, but the legacy of the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-1905, and the decades long struggle for access and control of Manchuria was certainly not forgotten, nor was Soviet earlier support for the Mao and the Communists through the Communist International.

In January 1941, in an event that would presage a key element of this decade long American advisory effort, Nationalist forces attacked the Communist New Fourth Army killing its commander and many of the soldiers.[28] The Nationalist-Communist cooperative relationship, the 2nd United Front, in place since the Xian Incident in 1936 appeared to be unraveling. Jiang was now simultaneously fighting two wars. The priority of his effort remains a contentious issue and still not been clearly established. Over the long term, the political-military contest between the Nationalists and the Communists for control of China that had begun in the 1920s had yet to be resolved.[29] Japan's future strategy in northeast Asia was also unclear, but with its forces currently available in China and Manchuria, it appeared a dynamic stalemate of sorts was in place.[30] China had been at war for nearly four years and there had been few successes on the battlefield against the technically and logistically superior Japanese forces. An appraisal of the Chinese military's strengths and weaknesses, their ability to absorb modern American equipment and training, and their potential readiness for offensive action was a high priority for AMMISCA.[31]

The Nationalist forces had been significant weakened in 1937-1938 with the loss of some of their most well-trained and equipped formations in the unsuccessful defense of Shanghai, Nanjing, and economically vital Yangzi valley.[32] The Nationalist military's defeats were the consequences of its deficiencies in airpower and artillery. Questionable tactics in conducting strong point defenses of key cities also contributed to the loss of eastern China. However, the overall strategy of regrouping forces and establishing a viable defensive posture further inland was successful. The Nationalist Army had also suffered significant casualties with tactics aimed more at attrition of the Japanese than holding key political and military terrain. This was not an Army with a common doctrine, interoperable equipment in terms of munitions and spare parts, or a system of command where those leaders closest to the action could and would adapt to the dynamic battlefield conditions.

As was outlined in Chapter 2, the Nationalist Army had officers who had been educated in China, Japan, Europe, and American. The Chinese armed forces had variously received training and equipment from the Germans, the Soviets, the Italians, and the Americans. In the fall of 1941, Jiang's only hope appeared to be the lend-lease program and the promise of American advisors to train and equip China's ground and air forces. Jiang and his leadership had gained valuable experience over the last four years of fighting. Both F.F. Liu in *A Military History of Modern China, 1924-1949* and Hsi-sheng Ch'i in *Nationalist China at War: Military Defeats and Political Collapse* outline the series of reorganizations and especially the influences of the German and Soviet staff systems on the Nationalist military. It is also clear that foreign command and staff systems were not copied, but rather were adapted by Jiang and the military leadership, but this effort was neither systematic, nor fielded throughout the force. Liu argues with the conferences in 1938 and 1941 new, smaller formations capable of surviving and not

being wiped out in large-scale static defense schemes emerged as the preferred method of organization. However, this was a not a force organized for offensive operations or rapid movement and maneuver of units to battle positions.[33] Ch'i stresses that in addition to changes to more mobile formations, training and logistics shortfalls were also recognized and efforts to make the necessary changes put into place.[34] Jiang and others in the Nationalist forces understood the shortcomings and weaknesses that had spelled defeat in fighting the Japanese.

The Situation with the Red Army

While the focus of AMMISCA was the Nationalist forces, Communist forces were also engaged against the Japanese and controlled large areas of China or maintained sanctuaries and operational areas in the north and east. As was mentioned in the previous chapter, the Communists forces had also been advised by German and Soviet members of the Communist International in the 1930s. Mao Zedong had disagreed with the advice he received from his foreign advisors on how to fight the Nationalists. During the Long March in 1934-1935, Mao gained the leadership of the Red Army and dismissed these advisors. Conventional style large unit combat as advocated by the foreign advisors against the stronger and better equipped Nationalist forces was not tenable. The Chinese Red Army struggled for a strategy to survive the Nationalist extermination campaigns and began to fully develop the doctrine of people's war or protracted guerrilla warfare. In the early 1940s, the Red Army also searched for a way to fight the Japanese and grow in strength for the inevitable struggle with Jiang.[35] As will be discussed in more detail later, American journalists and military officers had accompanied and studied this new emerging method of war. Magruder, as a former attaché, was likely fully aware of the Communist situation and the Red Army's operational methods. Mao had also tried a large unit

approach to fighting the Japanese that proved very costly, not only on his forces, but also to the people that supported them.

From August through December of 1940, the Chinese Communists forces suffered significant defeats and reduced the size and scope of attacks against the Japanese after their unsuccessful Battle of the Hundred Regiments.[36] Mao's major effort to conduct widespread attacks on road and rail networks throughout Japanese controlled territories in northern China backfired. The resulting Japanese counterattacks reduced areas under Communist control and inflicted significant casualties on Mao's forces. The Japanese reactions forced the Communists to curtail operations and conduct more selective guerrilla actions and mobilization activities.

More critically for Mao's rural-based effort among China's predominately-agricultural society, the Japanese responded with a "kill all, burn all, loot all" campaign designed to reduce popular support.[37] After early 1940, both the Nationalists and the Communists saw survival, rather than regaining territory and conducting offensive action again the Japanese, as their guiding objective. Brigadier General Samuel Griffith's translation of *Mao On Guerilla War* outlines a doctrine that calls for flexibility when fighting a protracted guerilla war and to fall back to an earlier phase if the enemy is too strong is completely acceptable.[38] Mao practiced against the Japanese what the Red Army will again be forced to do in 1946 and early 1947 when pressed by Nationalist forces.

Weakened by its clashes with the Japanese, the Communists were vulnerable. When AMMISCA arrived in China, the relationship between the Nationalist and the Communists was complex and ambiguous. Both politically and militarily, their cooperation was tentative at best.[39] Despite the breakdown of military cooperation on the ground, a Communist liaison mission to the Nationalist government headed by Zhou Enlai continued to operate in Chongqing, Jiang's

wartime capital throughout the conflict. In his position as a trusted aide to Mao, Zhou served as the key Communist contact for American personnel in Chongqing. He would play a significant role in later efforts by the United States after the war with Japan to bring the Communist and Nationalist factions to the negotiating table.

Despite China's vulnerable position with Japanese forces controlling the eastern third of the country, Jiang continued to see Communist efforts in the north and east as his major long-term threat. In the early 1940s, Jiang initially reduced forces deployed to counteract Communist efforts. However, by 1941, despite the dire Japanese threat, Jiang maintained deployments that tied down significant numbers of his better-trained and more loyal forces. These troops were positioned to contain the Communist recruitment efforts and prevent the movement of Mao's forces into areas still under Nationalist influence or control. In reality, Jiang and the Nationalist forces were simultaneously fighting two major conflicts, a civil war against the Communists that had begun in 1927, and, as member of the Allied Powers, a war against Japan in Asia. The United States was committed to backing Jiang and the internationally recognized Chinese government he led. However, for the American leadership at the beginning of the Second World War, the defeat of the Japanese was the central and most immediate concern. Avoiding becoming embroiled in the Chinese politics and internal conflicts was also a very high priority. However, from very early in the war, for the Americans, Mao and the Communists were seen as a potential asset in the fight against the Japanese.[40] This was certainly a sentiment not shared by Jiang.

Working with Communist allies, the most obvious being the Soviet Union, fighting against Germany, and potentially in the future against Japan, was part of the emerging American global strategy. American and British military forces were now, or would in the future, ally with Communist underground and partisan groups from France to Greece to Yugoslavia to Malaya

and the Philippines. The only litmus test of an ally was its desire to fight the Germans and the Japanese and their allies. In fact, the idealism and revolutionary nature of Mao and the Communists resonated with many Americans that were provided with detailed accounts of this movement by several adventurous members of the American press and as has been mentioned earlier by author-commando, USMC Colonel Evans Carlson.

American journalists had accompanied Mao on the Long March and wrote articles in popular papers and journals as well as books supportive of the Communist effort based among the suffering peasants of rural China both during the war and in the immediate aftermath. As Edgar Snow's work mentioned earlier, Agnes Smedley's *The Great Road* chronicled the time she spent with the Communists in the 1930s and extolled the virtues of Mao, his generals, and the young Communists. Two journalists, Theodore H. White and Annalee Jacoby, who spent many years reporting from China and who had studied the Communists published the 1946 classic book, *Thunder Out of China.* They argued, "The story of the War in China is the story of the tragedy of Chiang Kai-shek, a man who misunderstood the war as badly as the Japanese or the Allied technicians of victory. Chiang could not understand the revolution whose creature he was except as something fearful and terrible that had to be crushed."[41] This fundamental lack of a shared vision of the Japanese threat, and how to deal with Mao, plagued the American relationship with Jiang from the very beginning of the effort. However, one American was firmly committed to Jiang and the Nationalist effort.

The Flying Tigers

Claire Chennault worked tirelessly to recruit American pilots and crew and obtain aircraft for the Jiang's air force. A competent air arm could not only oppose the Japanese bombing campaign against China's cities, but could also support land operations. Lauchlin Currie reported

to President Roosevelt in a December 1941 memo that there were "66 P-40's ready for combat, about 90 pilots and 180 ground personnel."[42] In the report, Currie also advised Roosevelt to bring this privately contracted air group back into the U.S. military for unity of effort and command and control. A second and separate advisory effort had the potential to be dysfunctional in terms of an overall strategy and sharing of scarce military resources. The reintegration of the American pilots, crewmen, and maintenance personnel and the elevation of Chennault, a retired Army Air Corps captain, who was a personal advisor and confidant of senior Nationalist leaders, would prove to be problematic. In addition, the coming problems of having to simultaneously rapidly expand the United States air forces, support not only Britain, but also the Soviet Union with air assets, and assist China would tax America's industrial capacity.

Americans serving in the Flying Tigers would later be offered the opportunity to re-join the U.S. military (and many would refuse). Chennault accepted the offer, was promoted to general officer, and became a subordinate commander, first to Stilwell and later to Wedemeyer. However, Chennault's close and enduring relationship with the Generalissimo and Madame Jiang built up in the late 1930s became a significant problem not only for American unity of command, but perhaps more importantly, in unity of effort in the formulation of a broad multinational strategy to fight the war. Despite being a subordinate commander of American forces, he continued to offer his own personal views and advice to Jiang, essentially bypassing the American chain of command. He proposed a more airpower-centric strategy to hold off and eventually defeat the Japanese to a receptive Jiang. This fundamentally undermined the American military strategy that called for a ground forces-centric effort to tie down significant numbers of Japanese ground forces, supported by air assets. This controversial issue of a unified strategy to defeat the Japanese plagued the Allied and American efforts in the years ahead.

However, at this point, Magruder was focused on following Washington's stated early war strategy to build up the Nationalist Army to conduct offensive ground actions to move against and tie down Japanese forces deployed in China at the earliest possible time.

There were additional indications of China's underlying divisiveness, military weakness, and fundamental differences with the Allies over military strategy for the conduct of war in the China Burma India Theater. There was virtually no surviving Chinese navy, and most of the remaining vastly out-numbered air forces had to be withdrawn to the southwest to reorganize and refit.

China's ground forces, despite the earlier defeats, were still very significant in terms of absolute numbers. If the problems of training, equipping, reorganizing, and rebuilding the morale of this force could be overcome relatively quickly, this large army offered great potential to support the planned Allied effort to defeat Japan. The last sentence in the following quote, however, is instructive. This was not a unified army, loyal to a politically unified state.

> China had about 3,819,000 men under arms. Of these 2,919,000 were formed into 246 divisions classed by the Chinese as "front-line" troops plus 44 "brigades" (a term loosely applied to men organized on military lines). In rear areas were another 70 divisions plus 3 brigades, or 900,000 more. Except for the Generalissimo's personal troops, estimated at about 30 divisions, the loyalties of China's troops lay with their war area commanders.[43]

To focus on improving the capability of the Chinese ground forces, which on paper had the equivalent of over 360 division, appeared to be an easy decision to at least tie down Japanese forces if not begin offensive actions to regain lost territory. China's military, not counting the Communist guerrilla warfare effort in the north, outnumbered the deployed Japanese combat and puppet forces more than ten to one. However, as appropriate to the Sun Tzu admonition, "In war, numbers alone confer no advantage. Do not advance relying on sheer military power."[44] The

factors that make a modern army strong and capable are a complex mix of the tangible and intangible, not the least of which are training, leadership, logistics, and organization.

In a 1942 book, *China After Five Years of War*, published in the United States by the Ministry of Information, of the Republic of China, a very optimistic picture of this potential is described.

> War is fought with metal, money, and manpower; not infrequently with man only. Everything being equal a nation's trained manpower constitutes the chief factor in determining the final outcome of the struggle. Given modern armaments and adequate material resources but without men trained to use them with determination a nation's war machine is like a body without a soul. In this regard, China is in an advantageous position. She has a vast supply of manpower. In five years of war her most important weapon has been man and man is still her main asset in her struggle against Japan.
>
> The average Chinese is intelligent and follows instructions readily. He is resourceful and commands extraordinary ingenuity. He is traditionally loyal and faithful to the point of death to a leader who treats him with consideration. He is honest and knows no fear. He is inured to privation and physical hardship and meets death with the philosophical calm with which he faces life. He makes an excellent soldier provided he is well trained and led.
>
> With a common conviction and determination, millions of Chinese have been put in fighting trim and under the slogan "Training is more important than fighting." In five years of war [July 1937 to June 1942, from p i.) more recruits were drafted and drilled, more officers trained and more units inspected than in pre-war days.[45]

The Chinese Nationalist Army organization was outwardly modeled on Western-styled, infantry heavy "triangular" formations with three regiments in a division, three divisions in an army, three armies in a group army, with up to three group armies assigned to a war area.[46] Despite what this modern organizational structure might infer, this was not a centrally directed, mobile army capable of massing and sustaining forces to build up combat power to conduct aggressive offensive campaigns. This force was of very uneven quality in terms of manning, training, and equipment. In terms of operational capability in the early 1940s, especially after the early devastating losses in eastern China, the Nationalist Army was organized, equipped, deployed, and logistically supported for only relatively independent, limited defensive actions.

Nationalist units could really only freely operate in those territories that had not yet been occupied or were minimally manned by Japanese forces. The overall capability of the Nationalist Army was further limited by the large numbers of forces deployed to prevent the increase of Communist controlled areas, and were therefore, not available for operations against the Japanese threat.

Despite its weaknesses, the Nationalist forces, and their erstwhile Communist allies, maintained secure sanctuaries and conducted limited attacks. The Japanese and their puppet Chinese allies had insufficient combat power to control anything more than the urban areas, major road networks, and railroad lines. Japan's forces were widely dispersed throughout eastern China to protect key lines of communication and control the cities, which also limited their offensive capabilities. In northern China and Manchuria, Japanese forces were further tied down to deter potential Soviet activity and to counteract the widespread Communist guerrilla threat. Adding to Japan's potential military vulnerabilities and weaknesses were their Chinese puppet forces that were weak, poorly armed, and of dubious political reliability. By late 1941, the situation in China could best be described as static with neither side capable of further sustained offensive action.

China After Five Years of War provides the following about the manpower situation.

> From a total of less than two hundred comparatively poorly equipped and ill trained divisions the Chinese Army has grown to well over three hundred divisions with 5,000,000 men in the field and 15,000,000 men in reserve units or in training camps. Over 800,000 guerrillas are harassing Japanese garrisons and lines of communication while more than 600,000 regulars are operating behind Japanese lines. In addition 50,000,000 able-bodied men of military age are available for service.[47]

On the previous page are listed 12,500,000 men in militia and guerrilla units in "Free China." With figures, numbers, and sentiments like these being published in the United States for all to read it is not hard to imagine why the lure of training and equipping the Chinese was hard to

deny or to counter as a viable strategy. The problem was that there was just enough truth in this image to obscure the reality on the ground of how difficult this task would be to accomplish.

The AMMISCA Appraisal

Within weeks of their arrival in China, AMMISCA personnel carried out their own assessments of Chinese forces and the situation on the ground in the area to the east of Chongqing. An excerpt of a report by two U.S. officers inspecting units in two war areas quoted in *Stilwell's Mission to China* provides highlights of what the American team found.

> 1. The training of the artillery is very poor. A certain amount of technique is taught in the schools regarding indirect fire, but in actual practice the greater use is in direct fire, with axial methods for indirect fire being used where an obstacle provides protection for the guns.
>
> 2. The officer personnel in batteries are poor. How poor is difficult to visualize without seeing. In the battery specially selected for our inspection at Laolokow [Laoho kou] the battery commander was not of a very high order of intelligence. He was barefooted except for sandals. It would probably be very difficult to teach modern artillery methods to men of this type.
>
> 3. The entire military system, being built on personal loyalty, prevents it being possible to train artillery officers and send them to units indiscriminately as we do in the States.
>
> 4. There is very little activity along the front. Either side could probably push in a salient at any point they thought it was possible to do so. No contact between Chinese and Japanese troops at the front was observed.
>
> 5. The interest of the Chinese toward aggressive action appears to be quite negligible, regardless of their statements that all they need is airplanes, tanks, and artillery to drive the aggressors from their shores.
>
> 6. The small amount of artillery available in the past as resulted in artillery not being present in most divisions, but being held centrally under army or higher control.
>
> 7. The maintenance of motor transport is very faulty and makes the use of mechanized units a matter of doubtful advisability.[48]

The conclusions of the report provide insights on the depth of the problems in terms of cultural and organizational differences; personnel policies and capabilities; equipping and maintenance

issues; and perhaps, most telling, in the philosophy of the conduct of warfare against the Japanese.

In addition to the issues directly influencing the training and equipping mission obvious in several of the above points, the fourth and last bullets are most telling for the overall situation on the ground. The situation was static with neither side attempting to take or re-take territory, and given the last remark, Chinese forces cannot be readily moved or shifted to gain numerical advantage in order to go on the offensive. The task ahead for the American advisors went far beyond simply providing technical training for officers and enlisted personnel in the use of modern American military hardware and technology. An understandably defensively oriented Nationalist operational strategy had emerged after four years of war with Japan. Avoiding major combat operations against the Japanese was a key component. Holding the line against Communist expansion in the east and south of the Yangzi was also a central tenet. The third pillar was to maintain a decentralized organization of smaller elements capable of mobile defensive operations. This prevented the loss of large numbers of troops and equipment. The Nationalists would only concentrate forces where the Japanese were weak, thinly deployed, and not likely to mass to mount significant offensive operations. Finally, the loss of some of the best units trained earlier by the Germans now called for rebuilding by husbanding resources and focusing on training and equipping.

A Sun Tzu quote is appropriate in explaining the fundamental difference between how Jiang and his American advisors saw the war. "Invincibility lies in the defense; the possibility of victory in the attack."[49] The Chinese defensive "yin" evolved over four years of war against a technically and tactically superior enemy. The Americans continually expressed their "yang" by continually pushing their Chinese counterparts to train, organize, and deploy to conduct

offensive operations. This difference lies at the very heart of the conduct of the war against Japan. Jiang had settled on a defensive strategy based on his experience in the 1930s. He was now cautious about losing his forces by conducting any large-scale offensive operations. There is a time and a place for implementing an offensive strategy.

In late 1941, the situation on the ground in China was relatively stable. The Japanese position in Manchuria, and along the eastern coast, that contained the key industrial and resource areas were secure. A major offensive by the Chinese was impossible. In terms of equipment, firepower, mobility, and training in modern tactics, the Chinese were no real threat to the Japanese even if they could organize and mass for an attack. China's only real strength was numbers of potential soldiers they could put in the field and their defensive dispositions far inland. At that point in time, Japan decided to widen the war with naval and ground attacks against American, British, and Dutch possessions throughout the Pacific and Southeast Asian area. To further isolate China, the Japanese moved to close the vital Burma line of communication to disrupt the American lend-lease effort. Those American military officers who had served as military attachés or were stationed in China in the 1930s fully understood why the Chinese had been defeated. There was not only a lack of offensive spirit, but also equipment shortages, insufficient numbers of high quality officers at all ranks, virtually no modern transportation assets, and maintenance woes were all noted in the above report. AMMISCA personnel merely re-verified the observations of Stilwell, Carlson, and other attachés as well as members of the American media that had covered Japan's offensive in China.

As an old China hand, Magruder undoubtedly understood the following broad, general assessment that summarizes the strengths and weaknesses of the Chinese military. This perception, which focuses on the leadership of the Nationalist forces, would plague the American

effort unless it could be reversed. "The greatest asset of the Chinese Army was the hardihood and valor of the peasant soldier, fighting in defense of the familiar things of his province. Its greatest liability was the failure of its war lord commanders to see their soldiers as anything more that counters in the unending game of Chinese politics."[50] The key to success for Magruder and the American military advisors was likely beyond the obvious problem of inculcating modern training methods and refitting and reequipping a beaten and widely scattered military. As the American effort began, there appeared to be two-year window to overcome a military leadership problem that had been evident from the very beginnings of the Republic of China, and exemplified by the overall performance of the Chinese forces against the Japanese. As symbolized by Sun Zhongshan's early replacement by General Yuan Shikai, the leader of China had to have military as well as political prowess, power, and influence.[51] This would be Jiang's major dilemma throughout the decade of this study. He required a more professional and trained military leadership to win on the battlefield. He also needed his loyal military subordinates to maintain political power and control, whether they were capable military commanders and staff officers or not.

Another issue for Jiang and the development of a strong Nationalist force was how to avoid repeating the failures of past foreign efforts to improve the Chinese military. The record since the 1850s was of half measures and lack of long-term commitment to sustain a systematic program of change. In 1941 Generalissimo Jiang, despite the military defeats and territorial loses, was the acknowledged political and military leader of China. His background as a military student in Japan, his service in an Imperial Japanese Army artillery unit, and his travels to Europe to observe modern forces all gave him experience in modernizing an army. His actions in implementing a proven efficient and effective German model at Huangpu to build a modern

Nationalist Army showed him to be an astute observer of military command and staff operations. His rejection of the model of communist political overwatch being implemented by his Soviet advisors only to later institute a political commissar model in the National armed forces all point to his understanding and use of history, experience and precedent in building the military needed for the campaigns ahead. "The political and military struggles of the period following the northern expedition were for Generalissimo Jiang the ordeals which tested his mettle. He emerged from those trying times with a better comprehension of the broad political and economic issues and a clearer picture of the opposition which confronted him."[52]

The question of having the money to fund and maintain the effort over time was also unanswered. China had lost a significant geographical segment of its economic heartland.[53] Jiang had lost access to both his German advisors who had served him so well in the 1920s, and the Soviets who had dominated support to the Nationalist in the 1930s. He had also lost access to the large, modern arms manufacturers. China's intermittent and uneven process of military modernization along Western lines, conducted for the most part by the European powers, demonstrably had failed. Outnumbering the invading Japanese more than ten to one, China could not overcome the reality that its modernization was incomplete and its forces were pushed into decisive combat before they were fully equipped and ready. Had these changes run their course the results might have been different. As in the past, although the need for change was recognized as necessary by many in the Chinese political and military leadership, any effort to modernize and Westernize the armed forces was still impeded by cultural, historical, social and, especially, political imperatives.

Even with the understanding that the Ministry of Information book was propaganda or strategic communications for the American public, it is also an indication of Jiang's self -

delusion. This time, unlike in the past, there appeared to be a greater impetus for major changes. China had lost sovereignty of a major portion of its historic heartland. This was not a matter of minor treaties and agreements granting small concessions in areas adjacent to commercial ports on the periphery to several competing foreign powers who then maintained small protective military forces on Chinese soil. With the Japanese occupation, key areas of the country were occupied by a single imperialist power bent on dominating and incorporating China into its wider imperialist colonial structure. This was far beyond the normal internal-external threat paradigm that had plagued China for more than one hundred years.

A Glimpse of a Strategy and the Problems for the Allied Road Ahead

After the initial defeats in 1937 at the hands of the Japanese Imperial Army and Navy, China had survived, but its position was precarious, and its very sovereignty as a nation was at risk. Jiang successfully used a strategy for national survival of trading space for time, but the heartland of China, the Yangzi and Yellow river valleys and the coastal east had been lost. The Nationalists undertook a massive program to withdraw the governmental bureaucracy, key educational institutions, vital industrial capacity, and substantial military forces far into the Chinese interior. Jiang established a new capital at Chongqing, beyond the range of the logistical capacity of Japan's ground forces, but unfortunately, still within the range of enemy air forces that bombed that city relentlessly, and virtually unopposed.[54]

However, the strategy of retreating west did not apply to the majority of Chinese forces. In the earlier fighting against the IJA in the eastern part of the country, Nationalist forces generally stayed put and fought unsuccessful strong point defenses at great cost in terms of personnel and equipment. Those forces that did survive broke up into small units and remained in their war areas or adjacent territory by retreating away from the urban centers garrisoned by

the Japanese.[55] The Chinese forces that had withdrawn either were committed, to the defense of the Chongqing area or were arrayed to contain the Communists. Less loyal forces under the command of regional warlords remained in their home areas beyond the control of the Japanese, and to a certain extent, only under the limited control of Jiang in terms of long-term loyalty and centralized command.

While this strategy provided for regime and national survival, it also severely limited Jiang's ability to respond quickly militarily. It was difficult to collect the units in central locations to refit and reorganize, and the re-deploy for an attack. A major offensive against the Japanese to retake lost territory was virtually impossible as the Nationalist Army formations were difficult to mass, had little artillery or even infantry crew-served weapons, had almost no transport assets or supply system, and could not be protected given Japan's air superiority. In addition, too many of its senior commanders were either militarily incompetent, politically untrustworthy, or were incapable of logistically supporting actions by their formations outside of their home regions. Another issue was that commanders, in the best tradition of Sun Tzu's period of the Warring States, were careful and risk adverse, as any loss of their forces would be a reduction in personal political, military, and economic power.[56]

Hopes for an early opportunity to turn the situation in China around and build a powerful military ally capable of conducting a major offensive against the Japanese were further dispelled as the reality of the state of China's military and Jiang's evolving strategy became evident to American military leaders and planning staffs in both in Chongqing and in Washington. A gist of several key findings from Magruder's message traffic back to the War Department outlined by Romanus and Sunderland highlight their intentions and weaknesses.

> The Chinese had no intention of taking offensive action, which would inevitable dissipate the economic and political value of their troops.

> Dealing with the Chinese was extremely difficult, Magruder went on, because of their utter disregard for logistics.
>
> They had no idea of the capabilities of sea and air transport.
>
> Their pet strategic cure-all was air power, and they were unmoved by the fact that their transport system would not support a tenth of the aircraft they wanted to have in China.
>
> Magruder was convinced that some plain, blunt speaking would be necessary in dealing with the Generalissimo.[57]

For civilian and military policy and decision makers in Washington, this final comment would be especially prescient. Plain and blunt speaking is an American trait that could not be more opposite of Chinese culture and its tradition of "face." Face is often observed no matter how difficult the problem being confronted. This cultural trait was especially difficult to work around when proposed changes also portend the loss or dilution of political and economic power. There could be no greater loss of face for Jiang and the senior Nationalist leadership than to admit that Chinese officers, steeped in the 2,500-year-old military traditions of Sun Tzu and tested in battle since the 1920s, could not command their own forces in combat, and especially against another Asian power. For those Americans who had served in China, who supposedly understood that country's history, culture, and society, the situation in China in 1941 appeared very grim. This situation was further complicated by the distinct possibility that Jiang and the key members of the senior Nationalist military leadership would not readily accept any assistance, except for the military equipment and the direct technical training to support it. The next eight years of American aid and assistance through the war and civil conflict that followed would thoroughly test that assumption and the relationship between the American advisors and their Chinese counterparts.

Foundational to reversing the military situation was the necessity to deal with several key issues with broad and continuing consequences. Key industrial and population centers were lost that had provided access to arsenals and munitions plants. Jiang's Nationalist government also lost access to its large tax base among the business communities in the major eastern urban areas: especially Beijing-Tianjin; Shanghai; and the Yangzi River cities of Nanjing; and what is now Wuhan (Hankou and Wuchang). The majority of China's vast population was also lost to easy access for military recruitment. The loss of potential enlisted men needed to fill out the depleted infantry formations and the industrial workers capable of working with modern equipment and technology severely impacted the National Army. A significant portion of the educated middle class necessary to build an officer corps capable of leading a Western-style army equipped with more technically advanced systems was not available for service. However, more pressing for the AMMISCA mission was Japanese control of the western Pacific and of all the major Chinese coastal ports. Japanese control also extended to the ports of French Indochina with its road and rail access to Jiang's new capital in western China. As a result, only routes through the British controlled Burma and, should that fail, by air from India could resupply of the Nationalist forces. The Army Air Corps conduct studies to attempt to find other potential land routes including across the Soviet Union. However, in the final analysis, only the Burma route was viable in terms of the tonnages required to revitalize the ground forces and build up the fighters, bombers, and transports needed for the Nationalist military to go on the offensive against the Japanese occupying forces.[58]

Given the importance of this route, in late 1941, the AMMISCA staff in China quickly established offices in the port and capital city of Rangoon. In addition, mechanisms were put in place to speed up the reception and flow of lend-lease materials that were now being shipped

from the United States. In December 1941, the Japanese launched an overarching land and seaborne offensive on strategic British, Dutch, and American possessions in Southeast Asia and the Pacific. According to Adrian St. John, one of AMMISCA's senior officers on the ground in Burma, "The bad days of Rangoon started about December 16th with the first severe bombing and machine gunning. About 15,000 civilians were killed...From then on there were at least three attempted raids every 24 hours."[59] Among the campaign's objectives was the port of Rangoon, which if closed, would further isolate China, and stifle America's lend lease effort.

In late December 1941, the British lost their crown colony and the key port of Hong Kong on the south coast of China. In a very short and devastating attack mounted by Japanese forces moving south from Canton (Guangzhou), the Japanese now showed their military prowess over European forces and their colonial troops. In less than two months, further to the west, the British suffered one of the worst defeats in its military history. With the loss of the garrison in Singapore and the forces defending the Malay Peninsula in January and February of 1942, over 100,000 Allied troops were killed in combat or surrendered. The loss of naval assets, aircraft, and critical facilities in the region further complicated the situation. These strategically located possessions were now controlled by Japan, and access to and transit through the South China Sea and the Strait of Malacca were now threatened. Britain's ability to respond to further Japanese offensive actions was dramatically weakened by the loss of these territories, ports and bases, and irreplaceable well-trained and equipped forces. Adding to the Allies' woes was the necessity for Britain to focus on holding and reversing the situation in Egypt and North Africa the loss of which could be catastrophic to the overall Allied effort with the attendant loss of the Suez Canal.

On December 7, 1941, with the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, America was now at war in the Pacific. At the same time as the naval air attack on American bases in Hawaii, the

Japanese invaded the weakly defended Philippines. Under American control since the Spanish-American War in 1898, this location had served since the days of the Boxer Rebellion as a staging area for American forces to China. In the aftermath of the surprise attack on Pearl Harbor, the U. S. military worried about further Japanese offensive actions in the eastern Pacific and possibly even on the American homeland. While trying to recover after the devastating attacks of the opening days of the war and defend the American west coast, it was not possible to regain sea control to enable the needed reinforcement and resupply of it forces in the Philippines. The isolated American garrison with its Philippine allies fought a desperate, but ultimately hopeless delaying action through the spring of 1942.

For the Allies, the long road back to a strategic position where an attack on Japan's home islands could begin had to start from bases in New Zealand and Australia far to the south. The Japanese were now in control of, or threatened, the sea-lanes of the western and central Pacific and the South China Sea. British, Australian, Dutch, New Zealand, and American ground forces were on the defensive throughout Asia, having suffered a series of costly and humiliating defeats. Building China's military quickly was the last best hope for making the Japanese pay for its strategic overreach. Any hope for early attacks on the enemy's home island rested on a rearmed and active China. Unless, the lines of communication across Burma remained open to supply China and build up its forces, attacks on Japan, first by air and eventually by land from Chinese ports, could not happen. At a minimum, China had to be helped quickly if only to tie down significant numbers of Japan's ground forces to prevent their redeployment to other operational areas. The key to that effort was a landline of communication to China from Burma.

Ominously for the American lend lease and advisory effort in China, the Japanese attacked Burma in late January. The unopposed movement of its army units into and across

Thailand from forces originally deployed to Vichy French-controlled Indochina provided the Japanese a secure staging area and protected logistical line of communication to the Burmese border. In early January, the Japanese launched a two-division assault into Burma with the objective of quickly seizing the port of Rangoon, closing off the vital line of communication to China, and destroying defending British and allied colonial forces. This successful effort was another major embarrassing military defeat for the Allies and threatened the British hold on the eastern area of colonial India. The AMMISCA staff remained in Rangoon managing the reception and onward movement of China's lend lease supplies through the 22nd of February 1942 when it displaced to Maymyo and then on to Kunming, China.[60] The Japanese were now in a position to build up for an attack north into China. This Japanese attack had the potential to threaten the key logistics center of Kunming and potentially further weaken Jiang's control of China.

The possibility that Jiang would seek an accommodation with Japan was a continuing worry. This could have been devastating to the Allied effort.[61] As a young man, Jiang had lived in Japan, spoke and wrote the language, attended a military school there, and actually had served a tour with the Imperial Japanese Army. Although Jiang's forces had fought hard to maintain Chinese sovereignty, and the Chinese people had suffered at the hands of the invaders, in early 1942, the Japanese military looked invincible.[62] The possibility that Jiang would be forced or could choose to negotiate an accommodation plagued America's senior leadership and also limited the leverage that could be used to push Jiang to difficult decisions favorable to the overall Allied effort. The ability to continue to provide equipment and supplies was critical to keeping China in the war. Deliveries of equipment provided what little leverage there was over Jiang and the leadership of the Nationalist forces. India and Burma were critical to that effort.

Burma, a colony of Great Britain ceded to it by the Chinese in the 1880s, was part of the British Empire and Commonwealth in Asia that stretched from Afghanistan, to Ceylon (Sri Lanka) to Australia and New Zealand, and to Hong Kong. The defense of Burma, and by extension India, was a matter of national pride and a potential key to Britain's post-war status in Asia. China had suffered at the hands of British and French aggression since the Opium and Arrow wars of the mid-Nineteenth Century. As a result, there was no great affinity between these American allies. In the years ahead, at times the relationship between China and Great Britain seemed almost as difficult to deal with as their common enemy, Japan. The Allied effort in India and Burma against Japan called for significant British-Chinese cooperation if it was to be successful. This effort had not started well. The earlier refusal of the British to allow the use of Hong Kong as a transshipment port for military supplies destined for China; and then, Jiang's refusal to step up operations in China to tie down Japanese forces deploying from Guangzhou for the invasion of Hong Kong had resulted in mutual recriminations.

The British commander in Burma, Sir Archibald Wavell, refused on several occasions, and with unacceptable caveats, Jiang's offer of Chinese troops to assist in the defense of Burma. For its part, Britain was not about to concede or jeopardize post-war control of its key colonies in Asia for dubious tactical gains. The use of Chinese forces outside of China to aid and assist Britain in its fight against the Japanese was strategically problematic.[63] In addition to problems among and between allies, by early 1942, all three nations' militaries had proved incapable of defeating invading Japanese forces. There was a reluctance to commit Allied forces to decisive offensive action--a position China had arrived at more than two years before. More importantly, the United States was neither willing nor able to provide American combat units to this theater.

If Burma was to be saved, it would have to be accomplished by Chinese forces and a British military that was predominately comprised of Indian and other colonial troops.

A January 20, 1942 War Department Military Intelligence Division Memorandum for Mr. Laughlin Currie outlined the political and military situation in Burma. There were indications of internal unrest in the native Burmese population and "fifth column, sabotage, and large-scale revolt cannot be overlooked." The memo also outlined the security situation: "It is estimated that they [the Japanese] can capture Rangoon in not to exceed five weeks thereafter unless Burma receives heavy ground and air reinforcements. The report later outlined the military forces available.

> a. British forces. The British have approximately 35,000 troops in Burma. Of these, there are not more than 4,000 British and 7,000 Indians, the remaining forces consisting of Burmese troops with British officers. The Burmese units vary in quality, ranging from excellent troops or slightly inferior to Indian units to irregulars of negligible value...
>
> b. Chinese forces. The 5th and 6th Chinese Corps are on the Burma-Chinese border. Their combat value is unknown.
>
> c. Japanese forces. The Japanese have an estimated four divisions of infantry and two regiments of tanks in position to attack Burma...These troops probably total 80,000. Japanese forces are believed to have a unit for unit superiority over British troops in Burma.
>
> d. Air. The Japanese have the strategic air initiative in this area. The effective air strength in Indo-China, Thailand and Malaya totals approximately 720 operating combat planes. Of these approximately 468 could be used against Burma if desired. Favorable lines of communication afford Japan access to considerable numbers of reserves.[64]

Aware of the grave danger to Burma, a continuing series of bilateral and multilateral conferences and informal meeting between the Americans, the British, and Chinese (ABC Powers) began in December 1941. The lack of initial cooperation highlights the difficult relationship between the British and the Chinese at the early stages of the war. The refusal of the

British senior commander in theater, Field Marshall Sir Archibald Wavell, to accept Jiang's offer of two Chinese Armies (essentially two corps of three divisions each) to assist in the defense of Burma is indicative of the distrust and lack of a realistic common threat assessment. There were also misunderstandings, miscommunications, and controversies over Chinese support to British forces defending Hong Kong, British assessments of Japan's military capabilities, and the perceived fighting ability of Chinese forces. Underlying these differences was Jiang's negative view of Britain's long-term colonial posture in Asia, which included the post-war status of the Chinese colony and the major port and commercial center of Hong Kong.[65]

The problem of Sino-British cooperation came to an early crisis with the British request for, and later unapproved seizure of, China-bound lend-lease material in the port of Rangoon. These supplies technically belonged to the Chinese as soon as they left the United States. Reacting to what became known as the Tulsa Incident, Magruder and AMMISCA personnel in Rangoon did the best they could to smooth over these issues and negotiate a mutually acceptable solution. A matter of miscommunication and practicality given the exigency of the situation, Jiang and the Chinese logistics personnel assigned to facilitate lend-lease through Burma to China considered this an affront to their sovereignty and American good faith. The final result was that LTC Joseph J. Twitty, the senior AMMISCA in Rangoon, was relieved and replaced by LTC Adrian St. John. This issue was elevated all the way back to the Secretary of War in Washington.[66]

The British and American underestimation of Japanese offensive military capabilities and British refusal to seriously considered Jiang's views on the defense of Burma exacerbated the situation. In the end, after meeting personally with Magruder, and having received assurances of continued American support, Jiang agreed to British requests for the release of Chinese lend

lease shipments for immediate use for the fight in Burma. For the Allied defense of Rangoon, the release of additional America equipment and supplies was unfortunately too little, too late.[67] The failure to protect the Burma line of communication set the stage for continuing Allied disagreements over war strategy. Over the following months, problems surfaced on the timing of future offensive operations; the multinational command and control arrangements; the priorities for the use of scarce air and other critical combat assets; and most importantly, the transport, supporting infrastructure, and distribution of supplies and equipment for rebuilding China's military forces. This difficult three-way relationship with the Americans having to placate Great Britain and China continued throughout the war.[68]

The United States, although it had no combat forces in the theater, had to play the role of mediator and negotiator between its two allies. A soldier with the rank of brigadier general was inappropriate given the primary mandate to get war material through Burma to China's military forces. The problem had now grown to the point of establishing a major theater of war and sending a more senior American officer to lead the effort.

> On December 31, President Roosevelt cabled Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek proposing the organization of the China War Theater and informing the latter that he had already obtained the agreements of Great Britain, Australia, the Netherlands, and New Zealand to nominate the Generalissimo as the Supreme Commander of the China Theater. In this position, Chiang had authority to organize the Chief of Staff of the Headquarters Allied Forces for planning and directing the operations of allied forces in China, part of Thailand and Indo-China under his command. After careful consideration, Chiang cabled Roosevelt on January 2, 1942 agreeing to accept, and requesting him to recommend a trusted high-ranking general to serve as Chief of Staff of the China Theater.[69]

In early January of 1942, the search was on for a senior American Army general to go immediately to China to lead this yet-to-be fully defined mission. AMMISCA was about to be replaced with an American combat command and a major theater of war headquarters.

Indicative of the importance of China in the Roosevelt administration's early wartime strategy, Lieutenant General Hugh A. Drum, "the senior line officer in the Army," was the first choice of Henry L. Stimson, the Secretary of War.[70] However, Drum disagreed with the proposed command relationships, the priority of the mission, and the lack of availability of American combat formations to help secure the vital Burma line of communication. These problems all caused Drum to have little enthusiasm for position. This led General George C. Marshall, the Army Chief of Staff and the senior Army advisor to the president to recommend that Drum, who had already been approved by President Roosevelt, not be sent to China. Instead, Marshall recommended Lieutenant General Joseph W. Stilwell, who was being considered for a command in the pending Allied effort in North Africa, to head the China mission.

"Born in March of 1883, Stilwell was no longer young, but he was energetic and indefatigable. As military attaché in China, he had studied the mechanism of the Chinese Army and meticulously studied every Sino-Japanese battle of the 1937-38 period."[71] Stilwell departed for China in February of 1942 and for the next more than two and a half years he represented the United States in this theater. His position was the most difficult and complex command and advisory effort in the Second World War. While Eisenhower's work with the British in Europe was difficult, at least it was between peoples with a common language and military traditions. This job in China included not only advising and assisting a military at war and command of forces in combat, but also multinational diplomacy, strategy formulation, operational planning, and the conduct of military operations in some of the most difficult terrain in the world.

"Marshall knew Stilwell was not a diplomat, but the mission that was about to be offered Stilwell called for a great many other qualities."[72] With an "I'll go where I am sent" Stilwell accepted Marshall's offer and was approved on 23 January 1942.[73] Two entries from *The Stilwell*

Papers, published after the war from his diaries and notes, provide a glimpse of his premonition of the complexity and difficulties, but also of the possibilities, that loomed ahead. These comments include more than a subtle hint of Stilwell's underlying personal view of America's allies in the theater.

> January 24 To War Department and War College.
>
> The British have one brigade east of Rangoon and one more on the way. That's what they thought sufficient to hold Burma. And the SUPREME COMMANDER, Wavell, refused Chiang K'ai-shek's offer of two corps. [He] didn't want the dirty Chinese in Burma.
>
> Well this has been a full day. If the Chinese will just play ball maybe we can strike a blow where it will do the most good....
>
> January 25 It seems the reason Wavell refused Chinese help for Burma was that the British are afraid of the Burmese civil government. The military have to work through them for use of the railroad. The Burmese hate the Chinese and the British: maybe they are pretty right.[74]

The situation Stilwell inherited when he arrived in China in February of 1942 had evolved significantly from the initial deployment of Brigadier General John Magruder in the late fall of 1941 to lead the American Military Mission in China (AMMISCA).While the war was joined in Burma, the task to advise and assist the Chinese military in their effort to prepare for modern war against a competent and determined foe remained a key American mission.

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[1]John "Red" Sweeney, Oral Interview video, John Sweeney Files, Box 1, Hoover Institute Archives, Stanford University, Stanford, CA. Notes taken by Joseph Babb during viewing oral interview video of Technical Sergeant John "Red" Sweeney recounting his service in the China-Burma-India Theater.

[2]Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell's Mission to China*, 13-14 (see chap. 1, n. 7).

[3]*China White Paper*, 29 (see chap. 2, n. 9).

[4]Sterling Seagrave, *The Soong Dynasty* (New York: Harper and Row, 1985). This work details the story of the Soong family that included not only T.V. Soong who served as the Prime Minister of China and its representative to Washington. His sisters Ching-Ling and May-Ling were married to Sun Yat-Sen and Chiang Kai-shek respectively. This family was one of the richest and certainly, the most import and well connected during the Republican era in China. The author is the son of Dr. Gordon S. Seagrave, a medical missionary in Burma who was commissioned into the U.S. Army and served as General Stilwell's command surgeon.

[5]Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell's Mission to China*, 13-15.

[6]Ibid., 14.

[7]Stettinius, *Weapon for Victory,* 89-90 (see chap 2, n. 83).

[8]Ibid., 109.

[9]Ibid., 119-131.

[10]Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell's Mission to China*, 30.

[11]Ibid., 30.

[12]Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell's Mission to China*, 29.

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[13]Adrian St. John, "Rangoon Falls," *Military Review* 23, no. 3 (June 1943): 40. This phrase begins an article by one of the original officers assigned to AMMISCA who returned to the United States as an instructor at the Command and General Staff College. This article outlines the difficulties encountered during the first several month of the mission.

[14]Max Boot, *The Savage Wars of Peace: Small Wars and the Rise of American Power* (New York: Basic Books, 2003), and Brian M. Linn, *Guardians of Empire: The U. S. Army and the Pacific, 1902-1940* (New York: Public Affairs, Perseus Books Group, 2004), examine the role of American military ground forces in the Pacific area of operations.

[15]E. M. Benitez, "The Sino-Japanese War," *Military Review* 20, no. 76 (March 1940): 33-35.

[16]St. John, "Rangoon Falls," 42-44.

[17]Ibid., 40-45 and Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell's Mission to China,* 30-32.

[18]Ibid., 27.

[19]Major General William Worton, Oral Interview Collection, 1967, United States Marine Corps archives, Quantico, VA.

[20]Tuchman, *Stilwell and the American Experience in China,* 61-68, 90-91(see chap. 2, n. 73).

[21]P.L. Freeman, Jr., Oral History Interview, 16 May 1975, Air Force Historical Research Agency, Maxwell Air Force Base Alabama.

[22]Cornebise, *U.S. 15th Infantry Regiment,* 70 (see chap. 2, n. 49).

[23]Cornebise, *U.S. 15th Infantry Regiment,* 21.

[24]Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell's Mission to China,* 28.

[25]Ibid., 32.

[26]Frederick M. Barrows, "The Far East," *Military Review* 21, no. 80 (March 1941): 33-36.

[27]Peattie, Drea, and van de Ven, *Battle for China*, 288-293 (see chap. 2, n. 4).

[28]Taylor, *Generalissimo,* 174-178 (see chap. 2, n. 53).

[29]Ibid., 77. Taylor argues that at least in the near term deployments of Nationalist forces after the 4th Army Incident away from the Communist held areas indicate Jiang's priority was in fighting the Japanese invaders.

[30]Peattie, Drea, and van de Ven, *Battle for China.* Part III of this book provides an account of the years from 1938-1941 from the Chinese, Japanese, and Allied perspectives.

[31]Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell's Mission to China*, 41-44.

[32]Peattie, Drea, and van de Ven. *Battle for China.* Chapter 5-7 of this book provides an account of Jiang's defense of Shanghai and Nanjing and the continuing Japanese offensive to capture Wuhan and move further west along the Yangzi valley.

[33]Liu, *Military History of Modern China,* 129 (see chap. 2, n. 54).

[34]Ch'i, *China's Destiny*, 53-63 (see chap. 2, n. 69).

[35]Tse-Tung Mao, Selected *Military Writings of Mao Tse-Tung* (Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1966). Mao wrote "Problems of Strategy in Guerrilla War against Japan" and "On Protracted War. Both of these doctrinal military articles pointed to a way for a weaker force (the Chinese) eventually to defeat a more powerful force (the Japanese).

[36]Dreyer, *China at War, 194-195* (see chap. 2, no. 52).

[37]Lloyd E. Eastman et al., *The National Era in China, 1927-1949* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 244-249.

[38]Griffith, *Mao Tse-Tung* (see chap. 2, no. 6). Published in 1961 at the beginning of America's involvement in Vietnam, this book outlines Mao's strategy for victory over the Japanese through protracted conflict conducted in three phases of organization, strategic defense, and then the strategic offensive. The key is timing in moving from phase to phase, and moving to an earlier phase may be necessary. The Battle of One Hundred Regiments is a classic example of bad timing and having to move back to an earlier phase.

[39]Taylor, *Generalissimo*, 176-178.

[40]Taylor, *Generalissimo,* 191-193.

[41]Theodore H. White and Annalee Jacoby, *Thunder Out of China* (New York: William Sloane Associates, 1946), xv.

[42]Lauchlin Currie, Memorandum for the President, 9 December 1941, Personal Secretary's Safe China File, Box 2, Franklin Delano Roosevelt Library (Hereafter cited as FDR Library), Hyde Park, New York.

[43]Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell's Mission to China*, 35.

[44]Samuel B. Griffith, trans., *Sun Tzu: The Art of War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1963), 122.

[45]Chinese News Service. *China after Five Years of War* (New York: Alliance-Pacific Press, 1942), 43-50.

[46]Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell's Mission to China*, 43-50.

[47]Chinese News Service, *China after Five Years*, 51.

[48]Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell's Mission to China, 36-37.*

[49]Griffith, *Sun Tzu*, 85.

[50]Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell's Mission to China*, 35.

[51]Lloyd E. Eastman, *Seeds of Destruction: Nationalist China in War and Revolution* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1984). Eastman concludes the Nationalist Army's eventual defeat was a complex mix of internal and external factors, but political weaknesses, exacerbated the military's inability to adapt.

[52]Liu, *Military History of Modern China,* 76.

[53]Eastman, *Seeds of Destruction*, 218-219.

[54]Peattie, Drea, and van de Ven. *Battle for China*, 249. Chapter 9, "The Japanese Air Campaigns in China, 1937-1945," provides a detailed description of this aspect of Japan's military actions. Chongqing was bombed 141 times over a two-year period.

[55]Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell's Mission to China*, 34.

[56]Griffith, *Sun Tzu,* 39-41. Warlords are especially risk averse in that any military weakness brought on battlefield loses weaken the abilities to defend the region or area under the warlord's control and make him vulnerable to attack by neighboring warlords.

[57]Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell's Mission to China*, 83.

[58]H.H. Arnold, Memorandum for the President, India-Burma-China Ferry Route, 4 May 1942, Personal Secretary's Safe China File, Box 2, FDR Library, Hyde Park, New York.

[59]St. John, "Rangoon Falls," 42.

[60]St. John, "Rangoon Falls," 44-45.

[61]Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell's Mission to China*, 143.

[62]Taylor, *Generalissimo*, 17-22.

[63]Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell's Mission to China*, 52-57.

[64]Hayes A. Kroner, Memorandum for Mr. Lauchlin Currie, 20 January 1942, Personal Secretary's China Safe File, Box 2, FDR Library, Hyde Park, New York.

[65]Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell's Mission to China*, 52-60.

[66]Ibid., 52-60.

[67]Ibid.

[68]Ibid., 57-60.

[69]Chin-tung Liang, *General Stilwell in China, 1942-1944: The Full Story*, Asia in the Modern World Series 12 (New York: St. John's University Press, 1972), 1-2.

[70]Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell's Mission to China*, 63.

[71]Ibid., 69-70.

[72]Ibid., 70.

[73]Ibid., 73.

[74]Joseph W. Stilwell, *The Stilwell Papers*, ed. Theodore H. White (New York: William Sloane Associates, 1948), 31-32.

CHAPTER 4

THE CHINA-BURMA-INDIA THEATER OF OPERATIONS

The role of the American military advisors expanded significantly with the Allied designation of China, Burma, and India as a Theater of War. The initial overarching goal to build a force of thirty divisions remained the central focus of the army's advisory effort. However, keeping the line of communications open through Burma, of necessity, became the critical task as American servicemen began to flow into the theater to support President Roosevelt's decision. The appointment of a senior American officer to serve in theater signified China's important role in defeating Japan in the Allied strategy. The decision not to deploy American ground combat forces into the theater for the near future meant the Chinese Nationalist Army (CNA) had to assume a major role in the land war in Asia. In order for this to be effective, the American advisors and their Chinese counterparts had to develop a partnership. This chapter focuses on the building of those land forces, the impediments to that effort, and the role and functions of the other American and foreign entities, military and civilian, working with or supporting that effort. The scope, complexity, and difficulty of this challenge are truly remarkable, and unprecedented in American military history.

A Hell of a Beating[1]

Fresh from meetings with both President Franklin D. Roosevelt and Army Chief of Staff George C. Marshall in Washington, Lieutenant General Joseph W. Stilwell arrived in India in February 1942 to meet with his British counterparts. He then continued on to China to take up his position as Commander, United States Task Force in China and Chief of Staff to Generalissimo Jiang Jieshi and the Nationalist Army. His most pressing and immediate task was

to facilitate Chinese and British cooperation to blunt the Japanese assault on Burma and attempt to keep open that vital line of communication. Stilwell not only replaced Magruder and assumed the leadership of the mission of the American Military Mission to China (AMMISCA); he now had the task of reorganizing the entire American effort. He was commanding all American forces in the theater.[2]

Brigadier General John Magruder, in the Headquarters, American Army Forces China, Burma, and India Special Orders Number 2 dated March 15, 1942 was the Commanding General, Division General Affairs. Stilwell took advantage of the work Magruder had done and the contacts he had made with the senior Chinese military leadership. Stilwell took command of all AMMISCA personnel who had been in country since the fall of 1941. Some of these officers had been working with their Chinese counterparts for over six months and had already developed detailed knowledge of the key issues and problems in the Nationalist Army. In addition to assessing the state of the Chinese armed forces, their key role had been to facilitate the movement of lend lease war materials to China. This mission had been center stage when the Japanese attacked to sever the vital supply line. The best alternative route would be across India if the Burma line of communication were lost.[3]

The role of the Indian government and the bureaucracy that handled ports and transportation critical to the Allied effort also loomed large, especially with the Japanese attacks in Malaya. The ports, road, and rail routes in India were very important to the overall war effort in the China-Burma-India Theater (CBI). This was true even if the Burma logistics line was not kept open. Having served in China in the late 1930s as one of the military attachés, Stilwell was familiar with the role and function of America's diplomatic corps and the embassy. To support Stilwell and the military effort, Ambassador Clarence E. Gauss detailed John Patton Davies as

the State Department's Liaison Officer to his staff.[4] An indication of Davies' importance on the staff was that his name was listed as Liaison Officer, State Department, immediately following Magruder's, on Special Orders No. 2. *Dragon by the Tail*, a memoir of his time in China written by Davies, is an important chronicle of his work with Stilwell, the development of American China policy, and the full range of military and diplomatic activities during this time. Davies and three additional State Department personnel played an important role in supporting the military effort during Stilwell's tenure and beyond.[5]

Stilwell immediately took advantage of the experience and expertise of these interagency personnel. One of Davies first tasks was to go to India and prepare a report on the political situation and anti-British nationalist sentiment for its potential impact on the Allied effort. Davies' knowledge of the region, timely and thoughtful inputs, and diplomatic expertise were critical as the rapidly expanding American military staff worked with both the British military and the India government to establish facilities, obtain basing areas, and secure transportation assets to support the lend-lease program to China. Over the next two and one half years, Davies would remain Stilwell's senior political and economic advisor. He not only served as a key staff member, but also became a close friend and confidant of Stilwell even after the general was relieved and left China.

Evidence of the trust and confidence in his State Department colleague is Stilwell's 21 September 1943 directive. The order officially appointed Davies to oversee and implement two key tasks, the both of which had important implications for military operations in the theater:

> 1. You will be responsible for supervision of psychological warfare conducted by the United State Office of War Information in the China-Burma-India Theater. You will exercise control of the formulation of psychological warfare policy and will be charged with the implementation of this policy.
> 2. You will be responsible for the supervision of economic intelligence liaison between this and subordinate headquarters and the Office of Economic Warfare.[6]

Throughout the military's advise and assist mission, lower level State Department personnel detached from the embassy in Chongqing, worked closely with their military counterparts and assumed major responsibility for key intelligence, psychological, political, and economic functions. With their ties to Washington, they also provided military and State Department counterparts assessments of the situation on the ground. Davies would later accompany Stilwell into Burma on operations. In a famous incident covered in the *New York Times*, Davies along with several other people including journalist Eric Sevareid, had to parachute from a military aircraft that was going down over the Burmese jungle. Local natives recruited by an American team of the Office of Strategic Services (the precursor organization of the Central Intelligence Agency) picked them up and safely evacuated them back to Allied territory.[7]

In April of 1942, within two months of Stilwell's arrival, in a personal letter to a State Department colleague, Davies provides a view of emerging differences of opinion in the newly formed American headquarters. He assessed the Chinese war potential, how the Chinese perceived Stilwell, and the relationship among the Allies currently locked in a losing campaign to keep Burma. His insights at this very early stage of the Stilwell's effort in the CBI Theater are both prescient and insightful.

> The Stilwell school of thought seems to be that if the Chinese will really fight, they can assume and maintain the offensive, and that it has yet to be shown that the Chinese will not really fight. The Magruder school of thought on the other hand, appears to hold that nothing positive can be expected from the Chinese, that the whole Asiatic effort had best be written off as a loss, and that we should concentrate our strength on opening a western front in Europe.
>
> My impression is that the Chinese at the very top are very favorably impressed by Stilwell. They like his forthrightness, his good soldierly virtues, his honesty and his wholehearted absorption of the job of fighting the Japs.
>
> But in the larger picture, as the British and we continue to prove ourselves as ineffectual allies the Chinese attitude toward us seems to grow increasingly critical...I

> have the feeling that unless we can through victory or through increasing the flow of supplies to them prove to the Chinese that as an ally we are an asset, they may well seek ways out of their dilemma not at all to our liking.[8]

The Allied effort in India and Burma against Japan would call for Stilwell, with virtually no American forces in the fight and the promise of American equipment fading with the loss of Rangoon, to have to act as the critical allied go-between. This would not be an easy task as these countries had clashed on-and-off for more than one hundred years, militarily, diplomatically, and culturally. The fact that both Britain and France had fought against China several times during the past one hundred years and maintained territorial concessions, most favored nation status, and extraterritoriality rights by treaties forced on China by military defeats was not lost on Jiang. In addition, Britain controlled the key port and colony of Hong Kong until December 1941 when the Japanese captured it. Jiang's sense of Chinese history and anti-colonial leanings did not make for good allied relations at this time of crisis and did not portend well whatever post war accommodations would have to be made among the Allies. For its part, Britain was not about to concede or jeopardize post-war control of its key colonies in Asia.

When Stilwell arrived in India on 24 February, the Japanese had defeated the defending British forces in eastern Burma and were moving on Rangoon, which would fall less than two weeks later on 6 March. The situation had clearly changed for the worse and the British now asked for additional Chinese ground forces. Jiang agreed to this request and elements of the 5th and 6th Chinese Armies began to move into Burma. With six divisions employed as compared to only two British divisions, the Chinese would soon have the preponderance of forces fighting in Burma and a valid argument for demanding greater command and operational planning prerogatives. *The Stilwell Papers* include the notes of how important Jiang's decision was to employ the 5th and 6th Armies, "the cream of [the] Army" under the command of a foreigner in

the early days of this new Allied arrangement."[9] In addition, after much prodding, Jiang agreed to the use of Chennault's American Volunteer Group (AVG), the Flying Tigers, in the defense of Burma. This Chinese controlled capability was critical in protecting the cities in western China against ongoing Japanese air operations. If the Japanese decided to continue their ground offensive further into China, the Nationalist forces would need these assets. The promise of more American assistance, especially air assets, undoubtedly played a role in Jiang's decisions to come to the aid of the British.[10]

By early March, Stilwell had gained control of the personnel assigned to AMMISCA. The deploying elements of his old U.S. III Corps staff from the Presidio of Monterey, California and individual officers who had prepared for the China mission when General Drum was the choice to lead the wartime effort formed the new China-Burma-India Theater headquarters. In anticipation of the establishment of training bases in China, a handpicked team of military trainers were selected and deployed to China--a journey by sea that took more than sixty days.[11] Although the CBI Theater was established, command arrangements remained complicated, not the least of which was the role of Stilwell in the existing British headquarters and his relationship with Jiang and Chinese subordinate commanders.

> Both as Supreme Commander and as Generalissimo he had to supervise the training, equipping, and supplying of his troops, and the performance of duty of his subordinates. His chiefs of staff were advisors only, not executive officers. Stilwell, as the Generalissimo's chief of joint staff, was placed in a difficult position from the beginning. He was sent to China to aid the Generalissimo in the discharging of his duties of Supreme Commander of an Allied theater. In this role he was assistant to the commander who was a free agent and whose conceptions of Chinese interests did not always agree with those of the CCS [Combined Chiefs of Staff--a combined American-British headquarters]. However, Stilwell had three other roles. He was commanding general of the American forces in Burma and India as well as in China; he was the military representative of the President of the United States in Chungking; and he was dispenser of lend-lease material for the United States. His roles would be workable while the Republic of China and the United States agreed. When they disagreed

or when they were seeking an agreement, Stilwell was automatically placed in a dilemma.[12]

With six Chinese divisions and parts of two army headquarters in Burma working under the control of a British commander trying to maintain the vital line of communication, Stilwell very quickly "moved to the sound of the guns." He concentrated his initial efforts helping to coordinate the Allied defense of Burma. Over the next several months, British and Chinese forces would suffer a series of defeats while conducting a defensive effort that became in reality a difficult fighting retreat. British General Sir William J. Slim in his classic book on fighting in Burma, *Defeat Into Victory* describes this series of battles in detail.[13] One of Stilwell's most loyal commanders and staff officers, serving at the time as his aide, provides a first person account of "Vinegar Joe's" role and actions during this period. Lieutenant Colonel, later Brigadier General, Frank Dorn wrote *Walkout: With Stilwell in Burma*.[14] Dorn will later play a significant role leading the Chinese Training and Combat Command (CT&CC). The "Y-Force" of twenty-five divisions of the first thirty Chinese divisions trained, equipped and prepared for offensive action in southern China was a key part of Dorn's command. This force, along with the army (corps) headquarters and five divisions of "X-Force" trained in or deployed through India, took part in the successful 1943-1944 campaign to retake Burma alongside the first major American combat ground force deployed to the CBI, the 5307th Composite Unit (Provisional) better known as Merrill's Marauders.

Taking back Burma, getting the Chinese and the British to commit adequate forces to the effort, and sorting out the distribution of military supplies and equipment that made it to China, were Stilwell's most salient tasks during his tour of duty in China. Loyal subordinates like Colonels Hayden Boatner and Frank Dorn, for a variety of reasons, were responsible for liaison with the Chinese military leadership and the actual training and advising effort. "Vinegar Joe"

Stilwell's early actions on the Burma battlefront put him in the national spotlight as his actions there were well covered in the American press. This included *Time* and *Life* magazine journalist Jack Belden's "epic story of fortitude and endurance" in the book *Retreat With Stilwell* that was quickly published in 1943.[15]

> Stilwell's safe arrival on Indian soil 15 May [1942] created a new figure in contemporary American legend: "Vinegar Joe" Stilwell, the "acid-tongued, indomitable, gruff-voiced, kindhearted old soldier who could make his way through any jungle. Stilwell offered no alibis, sketched no soothing picture of a triumphant withdrawal, but flatly stated: "We got a hell of a beating. It was humiliating as hell. We ought to find out why it happened and go back."[16]

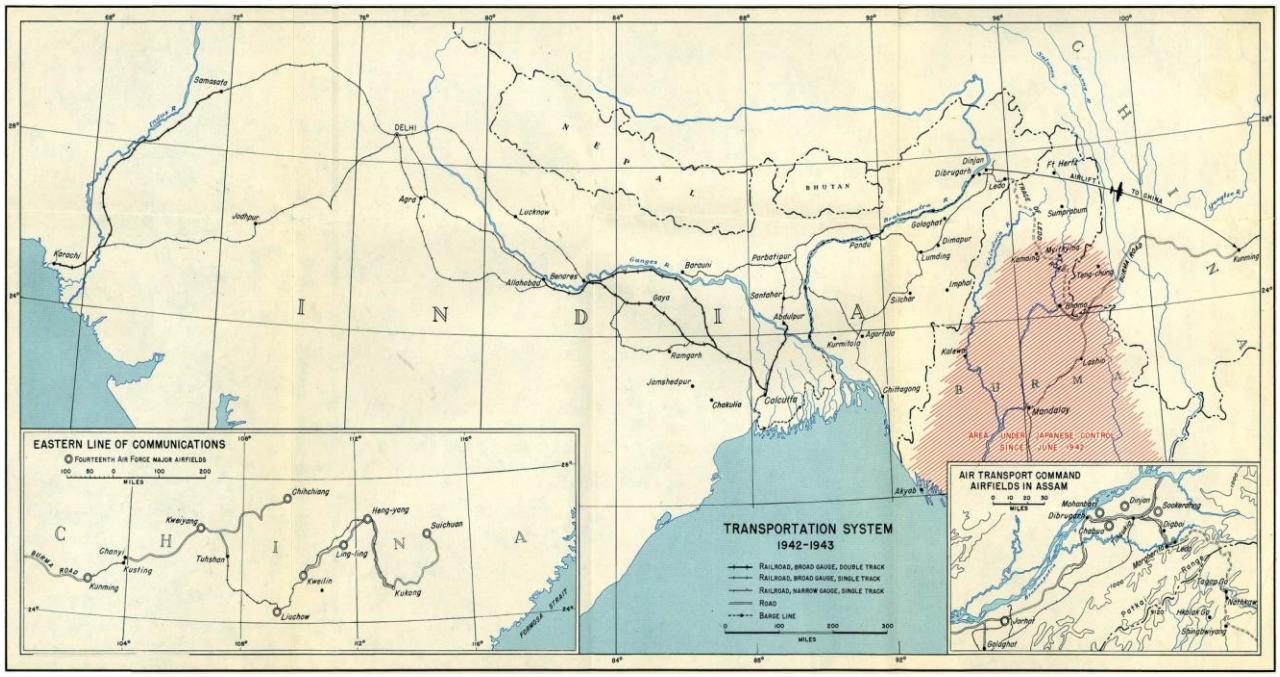
Now "safe" in India and China in defensive positions, the American political and military leadership vowed to take back Burma as soon as possible. The retreating British and Chinese forces along the Burma-India and China-Burma borders were now arrayed in tenuous, but generally secure defensive positions. The Japanese did not have sufficient forces to continue the attack and were at the end of their long logistical lines of support through Indochina and Thailand. The main task for the Japanese military was to consolidate their control of Burma. This geographically large nation of over 15 million people, split between those nationalists who welcomed the invaders and those that remained loyal to the British, was critical to Japan's strategy to isolate China and to keep pressure on the allied forces in India.

The combat situation on the ground developed into a relatively static standoff by the summer of 1942. Stilwell returned to China sure in his own mind of why and how Burma had been lost. For him, the leadership of the Chinese units was the main factor. According to Chennault, Stilwell met with the Generalissimo and requested that the Chinese forces be reorganized with "American officers holding all posts of colonel and above."[17] Jiang rejected this idea and "It was the rock on which Stilwell and the Generalissimo had their final split."[18] Another rock that split Chennault and Stilwell was soon to follow with the discussion of

reintegrating the Flying Tigers back in the U.S. military under Stilwell's command. The seeds of dissention between Jiang and the American military leadership and within the U.S. leadership were sown in the summer of 1942."[19] With the loss of Burma, a new situation emerged and the goal of equipping thirty divisions in two years and going on the offensive in China had to be reevaluated.

In India or Over the Hump

Thereafter, all lend-lease materials were transported through Indian ports. The most secure was Karachi far to the west in what is now Pakistan. The materials then went overland on a poorly maintained and operated rail and road network to eastern India. Once supplies reached northeast Indian airbases, they were prioritized and moved forward into China by air. The terminus was in the area of the city of Kunming in Yunnan province. As the American now in charge of lend-lease, Stilwell was responsible for deciding the content and distribution of the supplies flown over the Hump to China. The power gave Stilwell significant leverage over both Jiang and Chennault. The priority of supplies to ground or air units was a key determinant of a follow-on strategy for the CBI Theater. The map below shows the vast distances and key nodes of this makeshift supply route necessitated by the loss of Burma.



http://www.google.com/imgres?imgurl=http://images.nationmaster.com/images/motw/historical/india_china_transportation_1942_1943.jpg

In 1942, there were three key reasons why a significant build-up of ground force equipment for China was not possible. There was a lack of Allied transport aircraft available, especially with the emergency diversion of assets to support the British effort in North Africa. The second problem was the inadequacy of airfields and storage facilities in India. Perhaps most importantly was the Japanese air threat from bases in Burma and Southeast Asia that forced the re-supply effort to shift further west over the more difficult mountainess terrain. This reality supported Chennault's argument that the air campaign should have priority of tonnage shipped over the Hump. With these additional supplies, he argued the air forces could protect Chongqing, attack the Japanese supply line along the Yangzi River valley, and support the training and formation of additional air units at key facilities in eastern and southern China.

This air-centric effort would also support the construction and improvement of airfields and facilities in southeastern China to enable the deployment of a large American bomber force

for attacks on the main islands of Japan. For the Allies, China was the only viable area from which to conduct air operations against the Japanese homeland early in the war. The planned recovery in areas not under Japanese control in eastern China of the aircraft that conducted the April 1942 Doolittle Raid on the Tokyo immediately brought this reality to light. The Japanese quickly deployed additional forces and reacted very harshly to the populations in those areas of China where the American bombers landed or crashed. Jiang was not informed beforehand that this raid would take place. Nevertheless, he continued to support Chennault's air strategy against Japan. The handling of this operation was an indication of a lack of mutual respect and trust between Washington, Stilwell, Chennault, and Jiang.[20]

The dilemma for both Jiang and Chennault was the problem identified early on that the Japanese were likely to respond with ground attacks against any airfields that supported aircraft attacking Japanese facilities in Indochina, eastern China, and especially the home islands. In a March 16, 1943 Memorandum to the President, the Army Chief of Staff, General George C. Marshall succinctly outlined the problem that had been identified earlier by Stilwell in opposing Chennault's plan. "Here is the most serious consideration: as soon as our air effort hurts the Japs, they will move against us, not only in the air but also on the ground. The air situation Chennault can take care of with his fighters, but the ground effort against our bases must be met with men on the ground. Our 'bomb Tokyo bases' in Chekiang (Zhejiang) Province have been destroyed as a result of ground action"[21]

Both Marshall and Stilwell believed the success of the planned air strategy required well-trained, equipped, and led ground forces capable of protecting the airfields from a Japanese ground offensive. The requirement for the thirty divisions, or more, stood as a key to the air strategy. However, the lack of sufficient aircraft and facilities to fly the large quantity of supplies

and equipment needed to build up and support the ground forces and Jiang's call for the priority of supplies going to Chennault air campaign was a significant problem for Stilwell and his staff. The promised American training and equipping mission for Jiang's Nationalist Army of up to thirty divisions in China, agreed to by President Roosevelt in November 1941, was not logistically supportable, and seemed a remote possibility in the summer of 1942.[22] However, elements of five Nationalist divisions were retreating from operations in Burma into British India. This provided an opportunity for American trainers and advisors to refit, train and equip a Chinese ground force for future operations.

These operations included the near term requirement for the defense of India from further Japanese attacks. However, until the British military leadership and the India government negotiated logistics and support agreements this effort could not begin. Ongoing changes in the British command structure in India and Southeast Asia in response to the recent humiliating defeats further complicated this effort. In addition, the increasingly independence-minded Indian government and inefficient bureaucracy presented another obstacle to the unhampered use of transportation assets to support the lend lease program for China, and to support Allied operations in Burma and China. Jiang also had to agree to allow his forces to stay in India, the diversion of lend-lease materials to refit both British colonial troops and Chinese forces, and the administrative and command relationships. While the details of this effort were being worked out, Stilwell quickly moved to press for major changes in the organization and training of the Nationalist Army based on AMMISCA assessments and the performance of Chinese units in Burma that he had personally observed.

An April 1, 1942 message from Stilwell to the Secretary of War and the Chief of Staff General Marshall is indicative of how he saw the performance of the Chinese forces in Burma.

> Arrived in Chungking two AM today. Operations around Toungoo hampered by breakdowns in transports, delays in supply, rotten communications, sabotage by natives, and politics in the Army. These troubles fade into insignificance compared to the incompetence, lethargy, and disregard of orders amounting to disobedience on part of Division and Army Commanders. Unfortunately my powers stop short of shooting. A fine opportunity for a good slap at the Japs has been ruined by craven obstruction of above mentioned commanders...Have come to Chungking to have a show down with High Command. Under existing conditions cannot continue in command of Fifth and Sixth Armies without being a stooge for the Chinese, who can bypass me for anything they want to do and then blame me for the result.

Later in the message, Stilwell makes the following statement:

"Retain all my confidence in Chinese soldier who requires only equipment and leadership to be the equal of anyone."[23]

This basic assessment of the problem and enduring optimism in the potential of the individual Chinese soldier served as a primary motivator for Stilwell and his American subordinates. The Americans continued to press hard for systemic changes in the organization and leadership of the Nationalist Army. On 26 May 1942, Stilwell sent Jiang "Notes for the Generalissimo" which outlined a proposal for reforming the Chinese Army.

> The Chinese Army is weak partly because lack of equipment, but mostly for other reasons. It is too large to equip properly with the material now available, but a reduced number of divisions could be furnished with suitable weapons, including artillery, if a determined effort were made to get it together. A reorganization should be commenced at once with this end in view. A few dependable, well-equipped, well-supported divisions would be worth far more than double the number of the present average. The lack of artillery, A.A. guns, tanks, and planes has been evident for a long time. There is no use in continuing this complaint. The question is what can be done with what we have.
>
> (1) I recommend the merging of divisions to bring all units up to strength, and the assignment of all available weapons to these divisions as far as they will go. Our available strike force will then be concentrated, and usable, as it is not now.[24]

The memo goes on to assess the soldiers and junior officers as sound, calls for selecting middle ranking officers who have shown competence for advancement, and for conducting a significant culling of the general officer corps.

> (2) I recommend a rigid purge of inefficient high commanders. This could be accomplished partly by the training section, which could require field tests, and partly on recommendations from officers in who the Generalissimo has the highest confidence. Without a clearing out of the inefficient, the Army will continue to go downhill, no matter how much material is supplied for it.[25]

Stilwell then recommended a focus on unity of command and attempted to reduce the often-conflicting interference of higher headquarters in tactical operations of fielded forces. He argued that unit commanders must have the mandate to direct their assigned forces in the field, including the supporting arms and logistic elements, to be able to react to enemy actions on the battlefield in a timely manner. This memo specifically mentioned the need to stop the "advice" going directly to field commanders personally from the Generalissimo. His officers considered these messages to be "orders" that must be followed whatever the actual situation in the field at the time.

> (3) I recommend that in future operations one man be chosen with complete authority to direct the action with complete control over the services, with no staff other than his own present. Liaison officers at the War Ministry can check his orders, as well as his reports, but his absolute control of the troops must not be infringed upon.[26]

While this recommendation may accord with Sun Tzu's dictum that “He whose generals are able and not interfered with by the sovereign will be victorious,"[27] it was not something the Generalissimo would easily agree to do, and especially when offered by a foreign officer. Stilwell’s memo finishes with comments on awards and punishments, improvement in logistics and services, and ends with an optimistic assessment of what such reorganization could accomplish. According to Madame Jiang this assessment was similar to what the German advisors had told the Generalissimo, but such drastic actions could not be taken as they were "not realistic" as "heads could not be lopped off otherwise nothing would be left."[28]

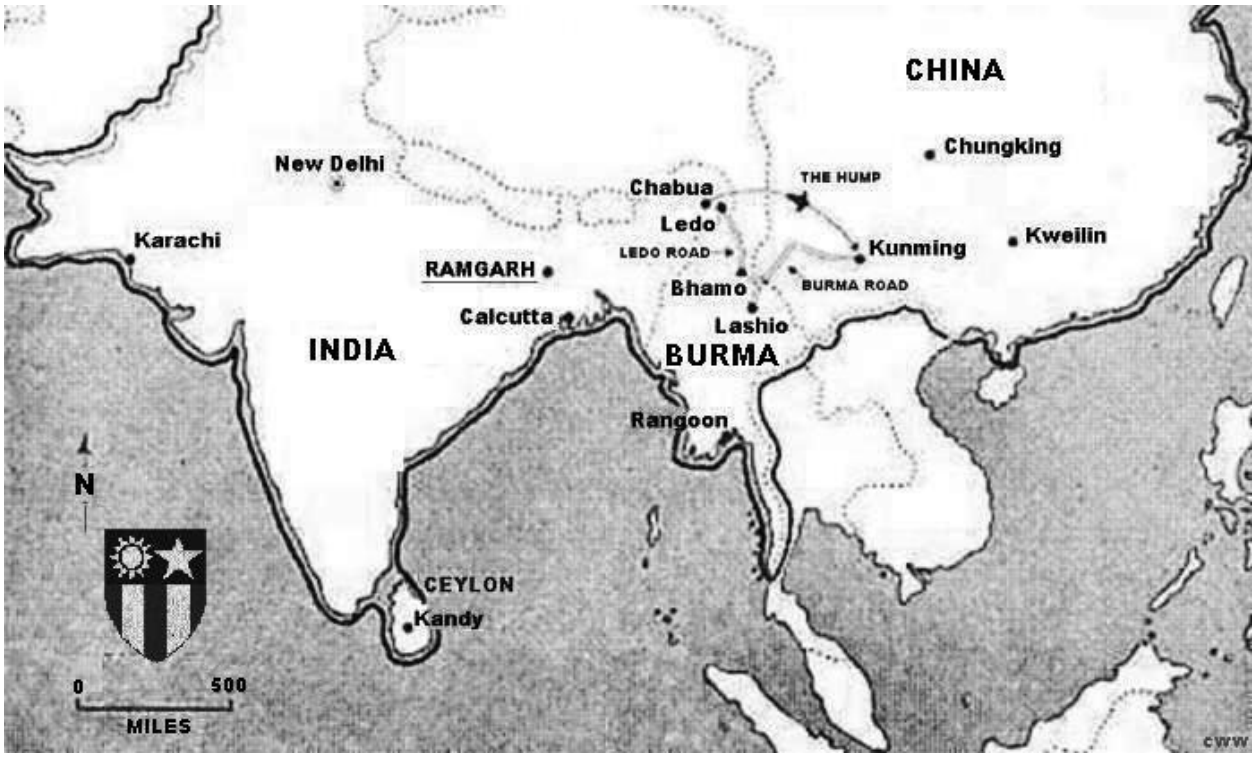
Madame Jiang was very influential in the China-American relationship. She reportedly spoke excellent English and, on several occasions, she represented her husband in Washington at

conferences. She attended Wellesley College in Massachusetts, was a Christian, and was instrumental in the Generalissimo's religious conversion. In addition, she was the brother of T.V. Song who served as China's economic and arms sales representative in the United States in the earlier days of the war. She had personally hired Chennault to reform the Nationalist air arm, and cultivated the relationship between him and the Generalissimo. She often accompanied her husband to key meetings and served as his interpreter. What she said could not to be dismissed lightly. A 2009 biography by Hannah Pakula, *The Last Empress: Madame Chiang Kai-shek and the Birth of Modern China* outlines her powerful and influential role during this critical period in Chinese history.

For Jiang, his relationship with his senior generals was critical for political stability in the country. His top priority was to maintain his coalition of regional leaders and warlords and those generals in the Nationalist Army who were personally loyal to the Generalissimo. His political allies in uniform were "heads" that could not be touched much less "lopped off." Political sensibilities took precedent over military necessities, especially in actions far from the seat of power where his control was more tenuous. Stilwell pressed unsuccessfully for reforms in numerous conferences and meetings with Jiang over the next several months.[29] In June of 1942, a chance for a compromise emerged.

Jiang finally agreed to allow the 38th Division commanded by Sun Liren (Sun Li-jen), a graduate of the Virginia Military Institute, and the 22nd Division commanded by Liao Yao-shing (Liao Yaoxing) to be trained by the Americans in India. In addition, smaller elements of three additional divisions (28th, 96th, and 200th) and the 5th Army (Corps) that had retreated to India from the fighting in Burma were also directed to stay. These elements were to reorganize, refit, and train at a former British prisoner of war camp facility in Ramgarh, India. This remit was later

expanded to build, with additional personnel flown back over the Hump, the Chinese Army in India (CAI), which would eventually include five divisions and supporting arms for the Allied offensive to retake Burma.



http://cbi-theater-5.home.comcast.net/~cbi-theater-5/ramgarh/ramgarh.html

Ramgarh: Now It Can Be Told

This heading is the title of "A pictorial story of the Chinese American Training Center in India where the soldiers of two great nations have combined their efforts to mould the means of defeating the common enemy."[30] The following sections of this chapter describe the training and equipping of a Chinese army from the perspective of both the Americans who conducted the effort, and some of the Chinese trained there. As the dedication in this book states, "the creation of a modern fighting force which could stand toe-to-toe with the Japs and slug it out to victory" took place at Ramgarh. There would not only be victories in 1944 in the campaign to retake

Burma, but in producing the fighting core of the Nationalist Army that would continuing fighting until the final days of the Chinese Civil War.[31]

In General Order Number 1 dated August 26, 1942, the Ramgarh Training Center (RTC) was official designated and organized as Chinese Training and Combat Command (CT&CC) under the command of Colonel Frederick McCabe who had been the Assistant Chief of Staff for Operations (G-3) in Stilwell's headquarters. Later that fall, Brigadier General Haydon L. Boatner, an assistant on the logistics (G-4) staff of the CBI headquarters, was appointed to serve as the Chief of Staff to a forward Chinese headquarters element called the Chih Hui Pu (Zhi Hui Bu). Under the direct command of the Chinese military, that organization was responsible for the "administration, discipline, supply, and sanitation" of the Chinese troops assigned to Ramgarh for training. In the beginning, the camp served to rehabilitate and provide medical treatment for the retreating Chinese who had suffered significantly from the effects of prolonged combat service and disease without adequate rest, logistics, and medical support.[32]

> The first Chinese troops to arrive at Ramgarh were badly decimated and were suffering from disease, malnutrition, lack of clothing and general war torn condition resulting from their long and trying march through the tropical jungles of Burma and Assam...For the Chinese soldiers, Ramgarh was a wonderland. They were fed for the first time as much food and meat as they could stuff into their hungry bodies. They gained an average of twenty pounds. They practiced on ranges with live shells and real bullets. Hospitals doctored them for everything from malaria to foot ulcers. And most important of all--they were paid.[33]

This characterization of the arriving Chinese forces from the pages of the unit history, *Ramgarh: Now It Can Be Told*, produced at the end of the war by American servicemen who served there, is not subtle about their perceptions of the way Chinese officers cared for their own soldiers. The senior American leadership at Ramgarh often had extensive experience working in China. However, the newly arriving officers and soldiers were not as well prepared in terms of language and culture. They had received a solid curriculum in their technical areas before leaving the

United States. The yearbook provides the names and ranks of the personnel serving on the various teaching faculties. The faculty of the various technical teaching departments was rank heavy with senior enlisted and mid-rank officers.

In June and July of 1942, the Americans to run the camp, organize the training effort, and provide the oversight for the British and lend-lease funded equipment and supplies began to arrive. Procedures where command prerogatives remained with Chinese officers, but Americans served as the primary instructors and trainers, supported by "hundreds of Chinese student interpreters" were quickly established. Almost immediately, issues related to reorganization and Chinese officer conduct emerged that highlights the unique nature of advisory activity. Boatner's post-war "Notes on Ramgarh" written after he had left China in 1946-47, detail some of these issues and is excerpted below.

> The first plan for the utilization of those Chinese troops that were evacuated to Ramgarh was to organize them into ten battalions, seven artillery battalions and three battalions of heavy weapons specialists. The artillery battalions following their training would be moved back to China....
>
> The heavy weapons specialists would be used as instructors for units in China....
>
> The fallacy of the plan was that the division commanders had no intention of breaking up their divisions and giving their men to any other commanders; in other words, they were completely selfish, as in the case with almost all Chinese officers, and wanted to keep their divisions together because of personal gain....
>
> Furthermore, no matter how good these battalions were they would not be absorbed in larger Chinese units without many changes in senior officer personnel because the Chinese officer always has his personal favorites and old time followers that, irrespective of ability, must be taken care of.[34]

As might be expected, the America reorganization proposal at the tactical level, as with Stilwell’s efforts, to reform higher-level headquarters with Jiang was not accepted. In the early days of the Ramgarh effort and at the national level in Chongqing, valuable lessons on the parameters of what was possible in terms of reorganizing the Nationalist Army were learned.

Tactical and technical changes and accommodations possible at the lower levels were much more difficult to replicate at the large unit and national levels.

The American system of building interchangeable units and specialists used by most, if not all, modern armies for the replacement of battle casualties and losses was not possible, at least at this stage of the effort in reorganizing the two divisions that arrived in Ramgarh more or less complete and with their leadership intact. Even with a division commander who had gone to a military college in the United States, the Chinese army's organizational cultural norms were not compatible with the changes initially proposed by the Americans. Stilwell's efforts in Chongqing with Jiang and his staff encountered similar problems as the political nature of the regime and its senior military leadership continually trumped changes necessary to build a modern, effective military force using a Western model. Personnel selections, organization changes, and specialist training programs had to happen within units and within the prerogatives of the senior unit commanders at division level and above. Chinese “ownership” of newly established units was also imperative. Nevertheless, from the American perspective, addressing the systemic problems that reduced the effectiveness of Chinese forces was critical if there was to be any hope of ever defeating the Japanese. The key was getting some senior level buy-in, building relationships at the levels where the changes had to be implemented, and carefully choosing what programs to push, and when.

The issues of reorganization and building counterpart relationships were not only apparent to American military personnel. John P. Davies, Stilwell's liaison, in a 4 November 1942 letter to several State Department colleagues, provides comments on the competencies of the Americans and some insights into the evolving relationships being built at Ramgarh.

> The Chinese divisional commanders seem to feel reassured that their divisions are not going to be broken up and harmony seemed to reign....I still think Boatner is the only

> first-class high ranking officer there....The junior American officers have risen in my estimation. In contrast to those in China, they get along well with the Chinese they work with. The Sunday I was there they threw a barbecue picnic for several hundred Chinese officers. And the Chinese seemed to enjoy it enormously....[35]

Davies specifically mentioned how well the American junior officers, those with little or no experience working with the Chinese, got along with their counterparts. There is also a reference to an American style picnic. While cultural knowledge is important, relationships and how one treats counterparts and trainees also matters. There are several stories of Chinese officers participating in and enjoying American cultural activities conducted at Ramgarh. Davies also mentions a difference "in contrast to those in China." After the establishment of Ramgarh, training bases were also established in various locations in southern China. Colonel W. J. Peterkin, who served as a trainer at the 3515th Infantry Training Center at Kweilin (Guilin) published a memoir titled Inside *China: 1943-1945 An Eyewitness Account of America's Mission in Yenan*. He is much more negative about his experience in terms of the American-Chinese relationship and the effectiveness of the training in his account of working with the Nationalists.

In a 2005, a collection of short accounts of over fifty Chinese soldiers who were trained at Ramgarh or who fought beside Americans in Burma and China was published. *Under the Same Army Flag: Recollections of the Veterans of World War II* outlines how the training was conducted and, especially, how relationships were formed. The following quote is indicative of the types of activities and actions that were shared across the two cultures, how this built camaraderie, and provides an impression of how counterparts were viewed. "Due to the language barrier and the garrison location, I only knew a few Americans, but they left me very deep impressions. Those Americans who watched movies with us always left the best seats to us. We were always disciplined, while they were more casual."[36] A Chinese officer who was assigned to Stilwell headquarters told a story of a disagreement between the two division commanders and

the American trainers about extra training being added to the daily schedule. Stilwell listened to both of the commanders and the trainers, and after due consideration, decided in favor of the Chinese leadership. The young officer wrote the following, which was translated in the book in broken but understandable English:

> Since then, the training of Chinese army in India has surged new tides. Leaders of all different levels could execute their own authority and seldom be interfered by American liaison officers. Though still running between Chongqing and New Delhi [the location of the British Headquarters] frequently, Stilwell always spared some time to stay in Ramgarh for a couple of days to live with the Chinese officers and soldiers, check the training, review the army and watch different contests and combat exercises of the New 1st Army Corps and special type army in person.
>
> I was very touched when I saw his busy and active figure, because I felt that he was our Chinese true friend![37]

Boatner, assigned early on to serve at Ramgarh, does indicate an area where the Americans stood their ground and made progress despite the disapproval of the Chinese senior officers. The problem of the disbursement of pay and allowances, which the Chinese wanted to handle entirely on their own in the traditional way, was easily exploited and invited corruption. The Chinese commander drew the pay for all of his unit's personnel and there were no records kept of how it was further dispersed. This was an area where the American officers could influence the procedures and monitor the situation. The leverage was that the money for pay was not coming from the Chinese government. He notes: "Money was at the root of most of the dissatisfaction of the Chinese in Ramgarh. Having much more money, better food, and better equipment and clothing than any other Chinese unit had ever had in the history of China; they were continually after more and continually failed to appreciate why I as an American was unwilling to go with them on all sorts of false claims."[38]

The organizational and administrative climate that developed at Ramgarh over time away from the stresses and strains of combat provides insights into what was possible in making

changes in the leadership, training, and equipping of the Nationalist Army, while at the same time being sensitive to cultural difference, but dealing with corruption and improper treatment of soldiers. The Ramgarh Training Center (RTC) was a laboratory and training ground not only for the Chinese assigned there, but also for the American trainers and administrators. Obviously, in such an environment, focusing on building up the tactical and technical proficiency of predominately the enlisted and junior officer personnel was possible with minimal input from senior Chinese commanders once they had agreed to turn their soldiers over to the Americans. The new military equipment, logistics support, technical expertise, and pay all provided leverage for a broad program to not only improve the combat performance of China's army, but also to provide a model for a more effective and efficient modern combat force.

The CT&CC at Ramgarh conducted both individual military skills and unit training programs. Initially, there were only the infantry and artillery schools. Although the need for tank units in the jungles of north and central Burma was minimal, an armor school was later established. There was a valid requirement for armored units in parts of Burma and eventually in China. For the longer term, the building of technical and mechanical skills, and for providing a capability that mirrored the Japanese, had logic of its own. By late 1942, the RTC established schools to train military specialties including "Motor Transport, Engineer, Signal, Ordnance, Medical, Veterinary, and Chemical Warfare." Another Chinese soldier assigned to the 5th Company of the 2nd Battalion of the Technology Training Regiment remembering his training recounted the following:

> I had forgotten which session I was in, but I still clearly remember the serial number: MTR 2504, worn on my chest. Each company had one American lieutenant-commander coach officer, on Chinese lieutenant-commander interpreter and four American sergeants. In each car, there were four students and one assistant coach officer (posts held by Chinese monitors in the driving school). We learned to drive in turns and the sergeants were in charge of instructing on the spot....

> Unlike Chinese coach officers, the Americans wouldn't punish you physically because of your unsatisfactory performance. They were very friendly and easy-going.[39]

In addition to technical courses and programs of instruction focused on battalion and below level combat skills, small-unit tactics, and operations, Ramgarh also provided a short jungle warfare course and training programs for the use and care of pack animals. Importantly, for addressing issues related to making changes in the command climate and dealing with senior leader deficiencies in units, courses, and instructions to Chinese officers including generals was also provided. This was an attempt to build relationships and to try to overcome the lack of formal military training in the upper ranks of the Nationalist Army. In the Ramgarh pictorial, there is a picture of an American enlisted soldier with this caption: "Sgt Sweeney is typical of the assistant instructors at Ramgarh, and it is not unusual that his pupils are two Chinese generals."[40] The officer-enlisted relationship, corruption, corporal punishment, and taking care of troops all were dealt with accounting for the extant cultural differences and impediments.

The senior American leadership strongly believed that basic to this entire effort was for the trainers to gain a better understanding of Chinese culture and the acquisition of at least some rudimentary language capability. According to Boatner, one of the Stilwell's first orders to him at Ramgarh was to arrange for language training for all American personnel. This was initiated by "using the young Chinese interpreters as instructors. Most of them had learned their English at missionary schools in China. They loved the prestige of being instructors. Most quickly became very friendly with Americans. Boatner mentioned that the course followed closely that I had been subjected to in Tientsin (1928-30) and Peking (1930-34)."[41] The interpreters who had worked around foreigners before were cultural go-betweens and advisors, as well as language instructors. Some educated Chinese who did not speak English were also sent to language classes

if their assignment called for working closely with Americans.[42] Language was the key to developing relationships and understanding. A Chinese sergeant had the following to say:

> I really like Americans. They were open, unsophisticated, and friendly, whether being a teacher in class, military police (MP), or rank-and-file... I did not like the British soldiers....
>
> Americans seemed less complicated. They love life...There were quite a few female American soldiers in a Battalion barrack, and they looked beautiful and relaxed. Whenever we saw them, we would act like those Americans to give a thumbs-up and say loudly to them "Beautiful." They would turn their heads and smiled broadly at us, and reply in their cute Chinese phrase "Ni Hao, Da Jia Hao (Hello Everyone)." The language barrier never stopped us to show friendliness in various ways when we ran into American soldiers...For over a year when we were in Ramgarh, we had been speaking in a strange language mixed with half Chinese, half English, during our encounter with American soldiers. Our grammar was incorrect, but with the help of hand gestures, we still managed to carry on lengthy and engaging conversations with each other.[43]

Boatner also discusses the language and cultural handbook that Stilwell had published in Calcutta in 1942 to facilitate the education of all arriving American personnel. This pamphlet was composed of two sections. Part 1 was a ten-lesson course in Chinese language over half of which was focused on military terminology. Part 2 was five lessons including Chinese geography, military rank insignia, organization of government and agencies, and ended with miscellaneous cultural information.[44] At the very beginning of the American effort to train Chinese troops and units, language, culture, and knowledge critical to personnel policies, administration, and operational employment of combined Chinese and American elements were incorporated. This effort was based on what appeared to be working on the ground and the legacy of the past experiences of military officers of working in China. The results of the Ramgarh effort was very impressive as the mission to train the additional Chinese divisions in southern China was about to begin and the campaign to reestablish a landline of communication to China and to retake Burma was imminent.

> As of December 1943, the Ramgarh Training Center had trained 5,368 officers and 48,124 enlisted men of the Chinese Army in India. During 1944 many contingents

> of Americans were processed through the RTC including men of the Z-force [the second group of 30 divisions to be equipped and trained by the United States), Field Replacement Depot and replacements for the 5307th Composite Regiment (Provisional) destined to become part of the Mars Task Force.[45]

According to Boatner, in April of 1943, in addition to the training programs for the Chinese and newly arriving American units, a concurrent program began at the RTC to organize and train American personnel for the liaison system of combat advisors. As the time approached, where the Chinese units trained at Ramgarh were to be sent back into combat in eastern India and Burma, the Americans to accompany them had to be selected and prepared for this mission. This effort to build and protect a land link from India to Kunming in southwest China was dependent on a successful offensive to take back northern Burma and to build a road and petroleum pipeline. Some of the Chinese units would work alongside American engineer and Services of Supply (SOS) logistics units in the project that eventually was called the Stilwell Road. For American advisors, the need to communicate both within the Chinese units to which they were assigned and with both Allied and Chinese controlling headquarters was critical.

The American advisors had to be able monitor and overseer unit movements and combat maneuvers, but the ability to communicate clearly and accurately was also necessary for providing medical evacuation, artillery and air support, in addition to day-to-day status reporting. That meant having a large number of Americans who were not only knowledgeable of the conduct of combat operations, but who could also had enough cultural knowledge and language skills to ensure the interpreters used the right military terminology and understood the nuances of working daily in combat conditions with Chinese counterparts. This included having American and Chinese operators with the technical skills to use the newly acquired equipment and maintain communications.

Boatner indicated that the Americans had learned from their mistakes in dealing with the Chinese at the training base. This resulted in the simple guiding philosophy quoted with comments at the beginning of this study to direct the actions of the liaison officers. He offered the following guidance, which he acknowledged as being "clichés," for Americans that were assigned with Chinese units.

(1) Tell the Chinese the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth.

(2) Be American but not too American, let the Chinese be Chinese but never too Chinese.

(3) Never get mad at a Chinese officer in the presence of others.[46]

This simple guidance attempts to "operationalize" cultural knowledge. It takes into account both American and Chinese traits, but recommended a middle path--compromise and workarounds. Telling the whole truth will invariably violate the tenet of "face." However, for Americans there can be no progress without a clear recognition of what is not working and why. The second tenet pushes both compromise and the necessity of both sides to find alternatives that work. There is clearly a recognition that the Chinese cannot transform into a modern, effective military without violating some of their "traditions" and methods of operating. However, the Americans also must understand and adapt approaches to find ways to make that change occur within acceptable cultural parameters. The last point is an example of how to manage "face" in an acceptable manner. In that this is also a tenet of proper action in American military culture, it reinforces the observation that there are elements of both cultures that are shared.

Boatner also discussed a program used for improving the quality and effectiveness of advisors and overcoming a very prevalent Chinese bias. Where new American equipment and technical training was seen to be necessary, America advice on combat tactics was initially discounted by Chinese counterparts. The Nationalist Army had been fighting the Japanese or the

Communists for decades; however, there was very little combat experience among their American counterparts. This lack of battlefield experience was a very significant issue for all the American trainers and liaison personnel assigned to the CBI early in the war.

> In this field, naturally, there was great mental resistance in the Chinese to be overcome. China has been at war seven years. Many Chinese felt that their battle experience was better than United States theory and were not interested in this phase of instruction. However, after seeing the Chinese in battle, all American observers agreed their minor tactics are extremely faulty. There is no question the Chinese need all the instruction, which was originally planned in minor tactics.[47]

Boatner discussed one of the ways this issue was dealt with as Ramgarh prepared to push American liaison teams to Chinese units that were being moved forward for the upcoming campaign to retake Burma. Boatner's papers at the Military History Institute in Carlisle, Pennsylvania contain an undated copy of instructions for liaison officers. The following are some key excerpts.

> 1. Introduction:
> a. As an officer of the Army of the United States you are now representing your Government in an Allied effort. Up until now, all of your service has been training but the job you will do here as a member of the Combat Forces of this sector is one of operations. You and all of us here are playing for "keeps."
> b. ...You are taking up a very, very difficult assignment for which you have heretofore received no specific instruction. It will tax your initiative, ingenuity, tact, spirit of cooperation to the utmost. Behind every sentence that follows is a background of experience accumulated by officers who for many months have worked and lived with the Chinese Army. These things were learned through mistakes which were not always pleasant. With the instructions below as a guide and with tact and common sense, you can and must carry out the policies of our Theater Commander, General Stilwell.
> 2. Duties:
> a. Your duty is to make the organization to which you are assigned the most effective battle unit possible....
> 3. Methods of Accomplishment.
> a. Normally, you will live with, and in the area of the unit to which you are assigned. You must at all times conduct yourself and maintain the personal appearance creditable to an officer of the United States Army. The influence you are able to exert will depend largely on the amount of confidence the Chinese have in you, both from a personal standpoint, and from your professional knowledge. You must particularly gain and maintain the confidence of the Commanding Officer of the unit to which you are assigned. Do all you can through him, always building up his prestige with his unit.

> Maintain your own prestige and dignity as an American officer. Your relationship should be that of two members of the same team. Learn to like him and make him your friend. Do not make any promises, personal, social, or military unless you are positive you can make good. If you are not positive always, leave yourself an opening. Always bear in mind that you are dealing with officers and men whose customs are different from those you are used to and you must respect them and be sympathetic to them....
>
> d. ...Make every effort to improve your own grasp of the Chinese language. The Chinese appreciate our trying to learn their language.
>
> 4. Conclusion:
>
> a. Remember your duty is Liaison - not Command....
>
> b. ....Those are all the instructions we can give you to enable you to carry out your mission of making more effective our team work with the Chinese, and making the Chinese Army in India the force that will drive the Japs from Northern Burma.

Boatner wrote a personal note in his own hand on this copy of the instruction that is, itself, a testament to the liaison system implemented at Ramgarh. "Although the senior liaison officers had the authority to adjust personality clashes between the U.S. and Chinese in units - and undoubted did so - I was never called upon to discipline any U.S. officer for misconduct or clashes with the Chinese"[48] These instructions were part of a very deliberate effort on the part of the senior American military leadership to prepare its officers for this important duty and quickly pass along the lessons that had been learned working with Chinese counterparts at Ramgarh. "Ultimately, we codified our instructions to U.S. liaison officers...All U.S. liaison officers initially served an institutional (instructional) phase with one of our experienced officers before taking up their permanent assignment."[49] Successful combat advising demanded demonstrated competence, credibility, and the ability to nurture personal relationships.

In April 1943, the Chinese 38th Division moved forward followed by the 22nd Division in September with additional Chinese units including the 30th Division following as the campaign to reestablish the landline of communication from India to China and to retake Burma began. Boatner and the American liaison teams moved forward with these units. He served as the command's senior advisor. Brigadier General William E. Bergin replaced him at Ramgarh and

continued the mission to providing the liaison with the Chinese military leadership for administration as the school. Ramgarh continued to provide specialist training for Chinese soldiers and the reception and familiarization for arriving U.S. units. This included the mission of providing in-theater training for selected newly arriving American forces.[50]

Complementing and building on the Ramgarh effort to refit and prepare the first three Chinese divisions in India was the equipping and training of Y-Force, also called the Yoke-Force in China. This was the training program for twenty-seven additional divisions established at Kunming in Yunnan Province by April of 1943. According to an official history of CBI prepared as Stilwell was leaving the CBI:

> "Y" Force's mission for the Americans was three-fold from a training viewpoint. They were to:
> (1) Train and organize the "Y" Forces; consisting of 27 Chinese Divisions and associated army troops,
> (2) Coordinate the eastward Hump movement of "Y" Force equipment from India,
> (3) Assist the Chinese staff in formulating plans for the operations [originally the attack into northern Burma].[51]

Preparing these additional Chinese units in Kunming immediately encountered a series of different challenges for the American trainers. Foremost among these was that many of these units or their leadership elements could not easily be redeployed from their home locations to Kunming for training. This meant mobile American teams deployed to various locations throughout southern China to provide the training. The formation of traveling instructional teams was the solution to this problem. Other problems that were "ironed out little by little," included "shortages of students and Chinese assistant instructors, lack of experienced interpreters, and shortages of equipment."[52] The Y-Force experience of training and refitting a deployed army at war was to become the norm for American army personnel assigned to this mission for the rest of the war.

Davies, in commenting on the Ramgarh and Y-Force effort, mentions another American program that was ongoing in China and technically under the purview of Stilwell in his role as the senior American military officer in China. These additional responsibilities were indicative of the complicated nature of command, control, cooperation, and collaboration with intelligence organizations and covert programs. Davies, the State Department representative, was worried about the ultimate use of the forces trained by Americans. In addition to line units, individual Chinese from internally focused intelligence organizations also received training from Americans.

> This Ramgarh program, the 30-division program and the cooperation with and strengthening of Tai Li's organization by another agency pose an interesting question of policy. How far are we going with all of this? Insofar as these activities contribute to beating the Jap, they are excellent. But are we so sure that the by-products and the ultimate end-product are what we want?[53]

Tai Li (Dai Li) was Nationalist China's director for internal security. He ran an organization called euphemistically the Bureau of Investigation and Statistics. He had a reputation for absolute devotion to Jiang whom he had served under at the Huangpu Military Academy in the 1920s. He was reported to be an assassin who ruthlessly sought out Jiang's political enemies, not only Communists, but also those Chinese liberals who called for the end to the Generalissimo's military dictatorship and for greater democracy. His organization eliminated many of these "traitors," through violence action or long-term imprisonment.[54] Davies's comments in the above paragraph expresses concern for U.S. forces or elements becoming involved, directly or indirectly, in potentially embarrassing and illegal domestic activities reportedly carried out by Dai Li. This was especially relevant in programs seen as directly impacting the internal political situation in China and impeding the need for greater unity among the Chinese factions in their anti-Japanese efforts. In 1942, two interlocking American operations

were working with and supporting Dai Li that had the potential to influence the Stilwell-Jiang relationship and the military advisory mission in the CBI.

One of these programs was a U.S. Navy effort called the Sino-American Cooperation Organization (SACO) set up ostensibly to gather weather data in China. In reality, SACO was designed to advise and assist in the organizing, training and support of Nationalist guerrilla units working in Japanese held areas of eastern China. The second organization at work in China was the Office of Strategic Services (OSS), the forerunner of the Central Intelligence Agency. This activity included an overt organization made up of China scholars and specialists who made assessments using what would today be call "open-source intelligence" collection and reporting. They also worked as part of the psychological warfare effort in the Office of War Information (OWI). There was also a covert effort in China and Southeast Asia that included special operations teams in Burma working with friendly native minority groups to collect intelligence on the Japanese and conduct operations in support of Allied forces. As American trained conventional units moved into Burma, they would work with native guerrilla groups supported and trained by American military personnel. When operations against the Japanese began in China itself, conventional forces coordination with SACO and other OSS elements was a complicating factor in Allied command and control.

The direction of these American organizations, how much information and intelligence was shared with Chinese and British allies, the mechanisms for coordination and liaison, and issue of logistics priorities and support were never satisfactorily settled. Because of the covert nature of many of the operations, especially those in China, and any operations involving Dai Li, Jiang demanded be under his purview. Having Americans, conducting military operations in China not under the command of the senior advisor to Jiang further complicated the lives of

Stilwell, his staff and his military successors. A detailed and very well documented account of these organizations, their missions, and what they were able to accomplish is contained in *The OSS in China: Prelude to Cold War* by Maochun Yu[55] and his follow-on book, *The Dragon's War: Allied Operations and the Fate of China, 1937-1947*.[56]

Stilwell's primary contact, although different workarounds were tried, for both the OSS and the Navy operations on the ground in China, was the head of SACO, Captain Milton E. (Mary) Miles, who deployed to China in April of 1942. Having worked in the office responsible for the acquisition of naval equipment and ships for China as a staff officer in Washington, he had the background to work in the theater. His book published in 1967, *A Different Kind of War: The little known story of the combined guerrilla forces created in China by the U.S. Navy and the Chinese in World War II*, provides a detailed account of the activities of this organization. According to Miles, his secret orders were to "find out what is going on there...and set up some bases as soon as you can. The main idea was to prepare the China coast in any way you can for U.S. Navy landings in three or four years. In the meantime, do whatever you can to help the Navy and heckle the Japanese."[57] Because Miles officially worked for the Navy Department and by special agreement with the Office of Strategic Services, his relationship to Stilwell and the Army headquarters was often difficult and complex. In addition, since SACO was so intertwined with Dai Li and his secret organization designed to keep Jiang in power, this organization essentially worked for two countries and three masters--often with divergent views, mandates, and goals.

The fact that the head of the OSS, William J. Donovan, a New York lawyer and Medal of Honor recipient from the First World War, was a personal friend and confidant of President Roosevelt further complicated Stilwell's relationship with Jiang and his chief of internal security.

Control of the OSS in China and the rest of Asia was a very controversial issue. Because SACO worked closely with and was supported by Dai Li, the Chinese wanted OSS activities controlled by Miles. Stilwell wanted full control of all American military personnel and intelligence related activities in the theater, a position supported by Marshall back in Washington. However, this was opposed by the Navy that wanted to provide the primary direction to Miles and to ensure his organization stayed focused on operations important to the Navy. Efforts to clarify the leadership, roles, and missions of OSS and SACO were brought to a head in late 1943 with Donovan's personal intervention with a trip to China to meet with all the key leaders. His direct involvement did not result in any major changes; in fact, his visit only made matters worse.[58]

Further complicating the American intelligence picture in China was an organization that was originally designed within the War Department and its Military Intelligence Division (G-2) to be a competitor to the OSS. The leadership of the Joint Army-Navy Intelligence Collection Agency (JICA) was opposed to the OSS serving as the single American foreign intelligence agency conducting operations worldwide. Army intelligence officers subordinate to Marshall argued that JICA should be the primary agency in China to support Stilwell and the American effort to collect intelligence and perform clandestine operations. While JICA was organized, deployed personnel and conducted intelligence analysis in China, the OSS emerged from the bureaucratic infighting as the predominate intelligence organization in China. However, as with OSS and the Navy's SACO, the organization and conduct of intelligence activities in China never achieved unity of command. Part of this problem was the fact that the various organizations had different intelligence requirements and missions.[59] American officers also worked closely with Chinese counterparts in these organizations in the most sensitive of missions, sharing intelligence between and among allies.

Further complicating the collection of intelligence and related operations in China was now Army Air Corps Major General Claire Chennault. He was officially subordinate to Stilwell; however, he was running an independent air operations focused intelligence organization to assist in collecting unique data for targeting the Japanese in eastern China. This part of China was also the main operational area of SACO. An air intelligence organization called the Air and Ground Forces Resources and Technical Staff (AGFRTS) under the control of 14th Air Force was formed. This organization also developed connections with OSS and operated in southern China, an area controlled by a Chinese warlord not completely trusted by Jiang. Complicating this arrangement was the effort by the British in Burma to control American led OSS teams working there in support of Major General Orde C. Wingate's long-range patrol missions and the upcoming offensive by their 14th Army. There were also disagreements over the control and support for covert Free French operations in Indo-China. Efforts by Stilwell and his staff to work directly with Mao and the Communists proposed by State Department personnel early on was picked up as a potential OSS mission that included training and logistical support further complicated the intelligence picture. Although Jiang finally agreed to the dispatch of an Observer Group, the Dixie Mission, to the Communists at Yenan in mid 1944, the OSS plan to support and supply Communist guerrillas was not approved. That mission was under the direct supervision of Stilwell.[60]

Jiang had both overt and covert efforts ongoing to eliminate Communist organizers and contain expansion into Nationalist controlled territories. He did not want any foreign intelligence collection operations by his allies in China not under his control. At the same time, he understood the need to collect intelligence against the Japanese for situational awareness, targeting, and force protection, and therefore had to compromise on some of these issues. Jiang's

internal security chief, Dai Li, was the critical go-between with the American intelligence organizations. He was involved in virtually all Allied intelligence operations on Chinese soil. The infighting and lack of unity of command among the OSS, the Navy, the Army and its air arm, and the Allies further limited the leverage Stilwell had with the Generalissimo as his chief of staff and senior American military officer in China. This split among the Americans provided Jiang with opportunities to push his political agenda and oppose or slow roll Allied strategic plans that were not to his liking. One of the outcomes of this issue was to further strain the relations between Stilwell and Jiang at a time when the opportunity to equip and train Chinese forces was about to increase significantly. The Allies were also moving back into Burma and preparing to defend Chongqing from a predicted Japanese offensive. The requirement for greater trust and unity of command in the Allied effort had more storms to weather.

Far Beyond Ramgarh

In November of 1943, President Roosevelt and British Prime Minister Winston Churchill met with Jiang, accompanied by his wife and Stilwell, in Cairo, Egypt to discuss future military operations in the CBI Theater. At the Sextant Conference, President Roosevelt promised Jiang an additional thirty divisions bringing the total number to be trained and equipped to eventually total ninety. This was the high point in the planning for American support for training, equipping and providing advisors to Jiang and the Nationalist Army.[61] In late 1943, the first thirty divisions (Y-Force) were still being trained and equipped. The implementation of a program for the second increment of thirty divisions called "Z-Force" was in the initial stages. Since the China-based Y-Force program was not yet completed because of the lack of a ground line of communication, only three equipment sets were promised for use in training the Z-Force. Additional equipment could only be made available once the Burma route was reopened.

The American trainers for the Z-Force group prepared at Ramgarh and moved forward to Kweilin (Guilin) in south China to set up a new training base and school. As with Y-Force, the relocation of these additional Chinese units to a central location for training was not often possible. Again, mobile training teams had to be formed and sent to the units significantly slowing the training process. In addition to the equipping and decentralization of training issues, just as the American trainers and advisors began their efforts, the Japanese commenced a major campaign in the spring of 1944 (Operation ICHIGO) designed to capture airfields in southern China and threaten both Kunming and Jiang's wartime capital at Chongqing.[62] While the Allies had mapped out the future progress of the advisory effort, war is a dynamic undertaking and the enemy has the opportunity to respond. The numbers of Americans now in the CBI Theater and the numbers of Chinese units trained and equipped was a growing threat to Japan in both Burma and China.

In terms of numbers of American advisory personnel assigned to this mission and training accomplished by early 1944, an extract of the G-3 report from Stilwell's draft CBI history provides the following statistics.

> 6. SUMMARY
>
> a. In effect a small number of American personnel under the inspiring leadership of General Stilwell have surmounted many obstacles, tangible and intangible. They inculcated, in those ground and air units of the Chinese Armies with which they have been in contact, a good technical knowledge, and a concept of proper tactical employment of American weapons.
>
> b. General statistics are as follows:
> Summand of training accomplishments:
> "Y" Force.
> American personnel: Officers 859 EM 3148 Aggr 4007
> United influenced (by cadre training or traveling instructional teams) 24 Divisions
> "Z" Force.
> American personnel: Officers 268 EM 358 Aggr 626

Chinese personnel: Indefinite due to disruption of training by enemy advance in Southern China.

Ramgarh Training Center.

American personnel: Officers 190 EM 490 Aggr 680

Units trained: (entire units)

3 Divisions (each including 3 Infantry regiments, 2 75mm Pack Howitzer battalions, and division troops)

In addition, also trained and equipped at Ramgarh were 2 Regiments and 1 Bn of 105mm Howitzers, 1 Regiment of 155mm Howitzers, 1 4.2 Mortar Regiment, 1 Motor Regiment, 1 Engineer Regiment, 1 Animal Transport Regiment, 7 Tank Battalions, and Army and Headquarters troops including Military Police, Anti-Aircraft Artillery, and Medical units. To put this in context in terms of the number of U.S. personnel involved in CBI this report also provides troop strength numbers. On 31 Dec 1943 (Using the format of the report):[63]

Type of Troops	In China	In India-Burma	Total
Air Force	4520	28313	32833
Services of Supply	1104	38384	39448
Ground Force	2000	7970	9970
Air Transport Command	550	10104	10654
Miscellaneous		1349	1349
	8174	86120	94294

In early 1944, there were three major factors influencing the American effort in China. The first was the inability to fly sufficient equipment and supplies over the Hump to both continue Chennault's air campaign and equip the ground forces as promised. The second was Japan's decision to mass its forces from northern and central China to conduct a major ground offensive to connect northern and southern China with their forces in Vietnam. The goal of Japan's campaign was to: (1) prevent the use of airfields by American bombers against Japanese forces and logistic facilities; (2) secure a land line of communication to Southeast Asia, now that the Allies had significantly reduced Japan's ability to protect its vital sea lanes; and, (3) to control

key areas of southern China and threaten the Chinese war time capital at Chongqing and the logistic hub at Kunming. The third major factor was the increasingly strained relationship between Jiang and Stilwell over what the American Chief of Staff saw primarily as the unwillingness to effectively deal with the corruption and military incompetence of the senior leadership of the Nationalist Army. Perhaps more importantly, Stilwell chafed at the Generalissimo's failure to commit to providing the necessary Chinese forces to retake Burma and reestablish the vital landline of communication.

In 1944, the American military advisory effort was further complicated by emerging changes in the Allied global war strategy, partly because of the lack of progress in the CBI Theater in terms of early ground operations against the Japanese. For the Allies, after a successful campaign in North Africa and a difficult offensive through Italy, the focus was now on the upcoming campaigns to return to France and the defeat the German military. In addition, progress by American forces in the war against Japan, both on land and sea across the central and south Pacific, promised to bring the war directly to the Japanese home islands by 1945 from islands in the Pacific and the Philippines. This greatly reduced the value of the China in the wider Allied effort. In the opening days of the war, China had been seen as a potential staging area for an attack on Japan, or a least for airbases within range of American long-range bombers. However, without an offensive to clear the Japanese from central and eastern China and control key seaports and sufficient trained and equipped forces in southern China to protect the airbases, this would not be possible.

A 26 January 1944 report from 14th Air Force to the Commanding General, U.S. Army Air Forces in Washington (H. H. "Hap" Arnold) discussed the status of the Matterhorn Project to build long-range bomber bases in China.

> Thousands of workers are now engaged in building the required bases for the operation of the transports and the B-29 bombardment aircraft in the selected China Base area near Chengtu [Chengdu], China....It is a suitable area for operations against targets in Manchuria or Korea or as a base for maintenance and supply operations against Japan proper, but operations from this area against targets in Japan without the use of staging fields is fraught with many grave tactical problems.[64]

Chennault then listed five of these "grave tactical problems." At the time, Chennault did not control the bombers of the XX (Twentieth) Air Force staging out of India. This message says these problems can be overcome, but he argued for complete control of all air force assets in China. He stated, "The Commander of Air Forces in China must be given complete command and control of all such Air Forces and supporting services as are based in or operating from China." This effort was fast becoming too little, too late in terms over the overall strategy to defeat Japan.[65]

Continued successes by American forces in the central Pacific diminished the need for that capability from China. Islands close enough to Japan to be within range of U.S. bombers were now being reached by advancing Navy and Marine forces. Unless Burma could be taken quickly and a line of communication secured, China's importance in the overall campaign would be significantly reduced. While still important in tying down significant numbers of Japanese forces in China, Manchuria, Korea, and Southeast Asia and for helping to secure Asia in the aftermath of the war, China was no longer necessary for a direct attack on Japan. Over the intervening two years since the American advisors had arrived in China, the CBI Theater had slowly become a strategic backwater in the Pacific war.

The details of this long and often acrimonious strategic dispute among Jiang, the British military leadership of Southeast Asia Command led by Field Marshall Lord Louis Mountbatten, and Stilwell on the timing and forces to be made available for a comprehensive campaign to recapture Burma from India and China are well covered in the second volume of the Army's

official history of the CBI, *Stilwell's Command Problem*. Stilwell's continued focus on initiating a major campaign in Burma despite British and Chinese doubts and intransigence, and the fact that there were virtually no American ground forces available for this operation, pushed the Jiang-Stilwell relationship nearly to the breaking point. This was exacerbated by the inability to significantly increase the tonnage of supplies reaching China to both maintain Chennault's air effort and to build the nearly 60 divisions of Y-Force, and now Z-Force.

Another area of contention between China and the U.S. was support for the Communist Red Army's anti-Japanese activities in the northern and eastern areas of the country. The dispatch of the liaison element to Mao's headquarters was a precursor to the post war American efforts to bring the Communists and Nationalist together.[66] Stilwell's insistence on sending an American liaison element to Mao's headquarters in Yan'an was eventually supported by President Roosevelt as necessary to the overall effort against Japan. Jiang and the Nationalists were essentially at war with the Communists and had deployed significant numbers of forces to contain them. Jiang was opposed to this effort, but finally buckled to American pressure although with several important constraints.[67] In June of 1944, Jiang finally agreed to the formation and dispatch of the Military Observer Group to Yenan, unofficially known as the "Dixie Mission." This effort was led by another old Army "China Hand" and veteran of the 15th Infantry Regiment, Colonel David C. Barrett, accompanied by two State Department advisors to Stilwell's headquarters and small group of military communications and intelligence personnel. The official mission of this group was to assist the recovery of down American pilots and collect intelligence on the situation in those parts of China controlled by or accessible to Communist forces.[68] An effort to train and equip these guerrilla units to make them more effective in fighting the Japanese was not initially allowed.

In July of 1944, President Roosevelt dispatched Major General Patrick J. Hurley, a National Guard officer from Oklahoma, successful lawyer, businessman, and politician with no experience in Asia to assess the situation and serve as his personal representative to China.[69] One of his key tasks was to attempt to smooth out the Jiang-Stilwell relationship. Initially, Hurley was directed to persuade Jiang to place Stilwell in direct command of all Chinese forces in Burma and China. Jiang, after initially agreeing to this new command arrangement to which he had no intention of allowing to happen, changed his mind and once again called for Stilwell's relief. Hurley reported this impasse to President Roosevelt and recommended the Stilwell be replaced. With the reluctant agreement of Marshall, the President made the decision to replace Stilwell. Roosevelt was compelled to choose to support the sovereign leader of an allied nation he still saw as critical to the continuing war effort, and especially, to the post war Asian strategic situation over Stilwell. An October 31, 1944 White House Memorandum offers the following reasoning for acquiescing to Jiang's request:

(a) The Generalissimo is the head of the Chinese Republic.

(b) That the Generalissimo is the head of the Chinese Government.

(b) The Generalissimo is the Commander-in-Chief of the Chinese Army.

The memo ends with the following statement: "General Stilwell will return to take a very important job fully commensurate with his rank."[70]

Roosevelt felt it was necessary to relieve Stilwell given the turbulent history of the relationship and that a China card might still have to be played at some point in the future. This was despite the fact that he had slowly come to agree with Stilwell's assessment of Jiang's lack of full commitment to fight the Japanese and deal decisively with the glaring problems with the Nationalist Army. He also was well aware that China's role in the overall Allied effort against

Japan was diminishing. Jiang's military leadership problems within his own forces, support for a flawed air centric strategy at odds with American war goals, the use of his forces against his Communist countrymen, and a reluctance to make the extensive changes in the Nationalist Army organization were all issues. However, for Roosevelt, keeping China in the war took precedence. Within a short period, Hurley was appointed as the American Ambassador to China and took up the task of bringing the Communists and Nationalists together. It was hoped that with Stilwell no longer an issue, Hurley and the newly selected senior American Army officer in China could restart the relationship.[71]

In October 1944, Stilwell was replaced with another American Army officer who had served in China with the 15th Infantry Regiment. He was currently a senior staff officer in Montbatten's Southeast Asia Command and familiar with the situation in the CBI Theater. Lieutenant General Albert C. Wedemeyer, who had shown the ability to get along with the British allies, was a very different kind of Army officer than Stilwell in terms of command and assignment experience, personality, and temperament. He was a very accomplished strategist, had spent significant time on the Army staff in Washington as a senior planner, and more importantly, was fully aware of the political nuances and strategic implications of his new mission in China. The operational situation Wedemeyer inherited is outlined in Stilwell's 1944 CBI history and is extracted below.

> Japanese forces in Burma, Thailand, French Indo-China, and China, including Manchuria, consists of approximately:
>
> 38 Divisions
> 13 Independent Brigades
> 12 Independent Mixed Brigades
> Numerous Puppet Troops
>
> These Japanese forces are organized into balanced modern armies with cavalry, army artillery, air, and armored forces.
>
> Opposing these forces are approximately 117 Chinese Armies, generally weak in combat efficiency.

General Combat Efficiency of Chinese Armies (less those of CAI [X-Force] and CEF [Y-Force], American trained units):

Strength:

Table of organization of the Chinese Army is over forty thousand. Actually, the strength is about twenty thousand, of which a very high percentage is composed of coolies and service troops.

Training:

There is very little training in the Chinese Army that even approaches U.S. standards. The greater bulk of the officers are not professionally qualified to give proper training.

Morale:

Morale is low, because the men are not properly cared for. They are poorly fed, and poorly clothed, and receive very little medical care.

Leadership:

A very large percentage of the officers are politically appointed. Some of the Chinese leaders are very good, but the great majority would be rated "unsatisfactory" by our standards.

Equipment:

The average Chinese Army has fewer than 10,000 rifles, a very large percentage of which are unserviceable. They leave [have] very few of the heavier weapons, which are obsolete or obsolescent.

Combat Efficiency:

From the above, the combat efficiency of the Chinese Army as a whole is rated as poor. In comparing Chinese and Japanese armies, the Chinese Army is equal to about one-half the Japanese division in combat efficiency, or roughly, six Chinese divisions are equal in combat efficiency to one Japanese division.

This assessment ends with comments on the Chinese Army in India (CAI) or X-Force which is rated as "good," and the Chinese Expeditionary Force (CEF) or Y-Force, that is determined to be "low because of depleted strength due to lack of replacements." After more than two years of American assistance, the assessment of Jiang's Nationalist Army and the situation in China was bleak, both in terms of U.S. equipment supplied under lend-lease, and in reorganization and preparation of the Chinese armed forces. There was much work left to do for Wedemeyer and the American trainers and advisors to meet the key challenges of continuing the campaign to secure the Burma line of communication, building an army capable of defending the Chinese territory, key bases and airfields, and assisting in the planning and preparation for a future offensive action against Japanese forces occupying most of eastern China.[72]

In a 24 October 1944 directive that will not change until the end of the war, the Joint Chiefs of Staff provide the following guidance to Wedemeyer as he begins his work in China.

> a. Your primary mission with respect to Chinese forces is to advise and assist the Generalissimo in the conduct of military operations against the Japanese.
>
> b. Your primary mission as to U.S. Combat Forces under your command is to carry out air operations from China. In addition, you will continue to assist the Chinese air and ground forces in operations,

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[1]Stilwell. *Stilwell Papers,* 106 (see chap. 3, n. 74). This is part of the longer phrase where Stilwell gains some fame at the beginning of the war. "I claim we got a hell of a beating. We got run out of Burma and it is humiliating as hell. I think we ought to find out what caused it, go back and retake it."

[2]Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell's Mission to China,* 75 (see chap.1, n.7).

[3]Joseph W. Stilwell, Study of Routes to China. Box 19, Document 7, Special Collections, Hoover Institute, Stanford University, Stanford, CA.

[4]John Patton Davies, Letter, 10 February 1942, Davies Papers, Box 11, Folder 11-2, Harry S. Truman Presidential Library (Hereafter cited as Truman Library), Independence, MO.

[5]John Paton Davies Jr., *Dragon by the Tail: American, British, Japanese, and Russian Encounters with China and One Another* (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1972), 226.

[6]Davies Papers, Directive, 21 September 1943, Box 11, Folder 11-2, Truman Library.

[7]Davies Papers, Washington D.C. Times Herald photograph with caption, 29 September 1943, Box 11, Folder 11-2, Truman Library.

[8]Davies Papers, Letter to Ambassador Gauss, 7 April 1942, Box 5, Folder 5-4, Truman Library.

[9]Stilwell, *Stillwell Papers*, 55-56.

[10]Taylor, *Generalissimo*, 213-220 (see chap. 2, n. 53).

[11]John "Red" Sweeney, Oral Interview Video, Hoover Institute (see chap. 3, n.1).

[12]Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell's Mission to China*, 87.

[13]William Slim, *Unofficial History* (New York: David Mackay, 1962). This classic work has been used as a textbook in the U.S. Army Command and Staff College.

[14]Frank Dorn, *Walkout with Stilwell in Burma* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1971). Dorn is a very loyal Stilwell subordinate who will clash with his replacement, General A.C. Wedemeyer on how to deal with Jiang.

[15]Jack Belden, *Retreat with Stilwell* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1943), dust jacket remark.

[16]Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell's Mission to China*, 143.

[17]Hotz, *Way of a Fighter*, 167 (see chap. 2, n. 71).

[18]Ibid., 168.

[19]Ibid., 168.

[20]Ibid., 168-169.

[21]George C. Marshall, Memorandum for the President, 16 March 1943, Map Room Papers A16, Warfare Box 165, Folder 2, FDR Library, Hyde Park, NY.

[22]Joseph W. Stilwell, Administrative and Staff Narratives, G-3 Training Accomplishments, History of the China-Burma-India Theater, Stilwell Papers, Box 17-1, Hoover Institute, Stanford University, Stanford, CA.

[23]Joseph W. Stilwell, Message No. 432, 1 April 1942, Personal Secretary's Safe China File, Box 2, FDR Library.

[24]Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell's Mission to China*, 153.

[25]Ibid., 153.

[26]Ibid., 154.

[27]Griffith, *Sun Tzu*, 82 (see chap. 3 n.44).

[28]Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell's Mission to China*, 154.

[29]Ibid., 154.

[30]*Ramgarh: Now It Can Be Told* (Ranchi, India: Printed at the Catholic Press Ranchi, n.d.).

[31]Ibid.

[32]Carl Warren Weidenburner, Ramgarh Training Center, http://cbi-theater-5.home.comcast.net/~cbi-theater-5/ramgarh/orders.html (18 May 2009).

[33] Ibid., http://cbi-theater-5.home.comcast.net/~cbi-theater-5/ramgarh/ramgarh.html.

[34] Haydon L. Boatner, Notes on Ramgarh, 1946 or 1947, Boatner Papers, Box 4, File 6, Hoover Institute (chap. 1, n. 1).

[35]Davies Papers, Letter to Ambassador Gauss, 7 April 1942, Box 5, Folder 5-4, Truman Library.

[36]William W. Wang, *Under the Same Flag: Recollections of the Veterans of World War II* (Beijing, China: China Intercontinental Press, 2005), 191.

[37]Ibid., 201-202.

[38]Boatner Papers. Notes on Ramgarh, Box 4, File 6, Hoover Institute.

[39]Wang, *Under the Same Flag*, 109-111.

[40]*Ramgarh: Now It Can Be Told*, 14.

[41]Boatner Papers, Handwritten notes, 5 December 1975, Hoover Institute.

[42]Wang, *Under the Same Flag*, 53.

[43]Ibid., 72.

[44]Boatner Papers, Handwritten notes, 5 December 1975, Box 6, Hoover Institute.

[45]Weidenburner, Ramgarh Training Center, (http://cbi-theater-5.home.comcast.net/~cbi-theater-5/ramgarh/ramgarh.html).

[46]Boatner Papers, Notes for U.S. Liaison Officers with Chinese Units, Box 6, Hoover Institute.

[47]Joseph W. Stilwell, Administrative and Staff Narratives, G-3 Training Accomplishments, History of the China-Burma-India Theater, Stilwell Papers, Box 17-1, Hoover Institution.

[48]Haydon L. Boatner, Instructions for Liaison Officers from this Headquarters to Chinese Units, Handwritten note on p. 4, Box 2, Folder 3, Military History Institute, (Hereafter cited as MHI), Carlisle, Pennsylvania.

[49]Boatner Papers, Notes for U.S. Liaison Officers with Chinese Units, Box 6, Hoover Institute.

[50]Weidenburner, Ramgarh Training Center, (http://cbi-theater-5.home.comcast.net/~cbi-theater-5/ramgarh/ramgarh.html).

[51]Stilwell Papers, Administrative and Staff Narratives, G-3 Training Accomplishments, History of the China-Burma-India Theater, Box 17-1, Hoover Institute.

[52]Ibid., G-3 Report.

[53]Davies Papers, Letter to Ambassador Gauss, 7 April 1942, Box 5, Folder 5-4, Truman Library.

[54]Milton E. Miles, *A Different Kind of War* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday and Company, 1967), 22-23.

[55]Maochun Yu, *OSS in China: Prelude to the Cold War* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1996).

[56]Maochun Yu, *The Dragon's War: Allied Operations and the Fate of China, 1937-1947* (Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 2006).

[57]Miles, *Different Kind of War*, 18.

[58]Yu, *OSS in China*, 60. Chapter Three of this book details Donovan's trip to China and the complicated nature of these relationships.

[59]Ibid., 7, 112.

[60]Yu, *Dragon's War*. This book details the various intelligence organizations and operations summarized in this paragraph.

[61]Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell's Command Problems*, 64-65. (see chap. 1, n. 8). The authors entitle Chapter 2 "Sextant: The Watershed." By inviting Jiang to Cairo, FDR was signaling to both Churchill and Stalin the role the U.S. expected China to play in the post war world.

[62]Peattie, Drea and van de Ven. (see chap. 2, n. 4). Chapter 16 provides a summary of the Japanese "The Ichigo Offensive." While the purpose was to connect Japan's internal ground line of communication through China from Korea to Vietnam, it also threatened Jiang's capital on Chongqing, and reduced the air threat to eastern China, the Yangzi valley, and the Japanese home islands from American bomber bases in China.

[63]Stilwell Papers, Administrative and Staff Narratives, Box 17-1, Hoover Institute.

[64]C. L. Chennault, Letter, Matterhorn Project, 26 January 1944, Personal Secretary Safe File China, Box 2, FDR Library.

[65]Ibid.

[66]Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell's Mission to China*, 302-304.

[67]Taylor, *Generalissimo*, 298.

[68]David D. Barrett, *Dixie Mission: The United States Army Observer Group in Yenan, 1944* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1970). There are several books that have been written on the Dixie Mission in addition to Barrett's monograph. Peterkin's book previously mentioned is essential the notes from his diary on what he did during the two years he was in the mission. Carolle J. Carter's *Mission to Yenan: American Liaison with the Chinese Communists, 1944-1947*, provides a more complete picture of the unique military operation. While officially not an advisory or training mission, those American personal assigned to the mission, especially before the arrival of Colonel Ivan Yeaton did conduct classes and educated the Chinese on various military subjects. This group provided the U.S. government options and a certain amount of leverage in dealing with Jiang.

[69]Barbara G. Mulch, "A Chinese Puzzle: Patrick J. Hurley and the Foreign Service Officer Controversy" (PhD. diss., University of Kansas, 1972). Mulch describes in detail the Hurley mission and its problems.

[70]White House Memorandum 2644, 31 October 1944, Official File 2629-2669, FDR Library.

[71]Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell's Command Problems*, 468-472.

[72]Stilwell Papers, Administrative and Staff Narratives, Box 17-1, Hoover Institute.

CHAPTER 5

THE EVOLVING CHINA THEATER

This chapter begins with the Allied offensive to retake Burma. Chinese units trained, equipped, and accompanied into combat by teams of American advisors and supporting units played a major role in reopening this key line of communication. This chapter examines the American change of command and senior advisors, the formation of a China theater, and the establishment of the Alpha Force. During this period the forces trained, equipped, and advised by the Americans not only participated in the recapture of Burma, but also deployed for the defense of southwest China. In addition, these forces prepared for a major offensive against the Japanese in China. The chapter concludes in September 1945 with the Japanese surrender and as negotiations between the Communists and the Nationalists are ongoing mediated by Ambassador Hurley. The evolving strategic environment and the regional military situation provide the context for the advisory effort during this key period. This chapter is broken into three main parts as outlined below.

Part one discusses the Allied attack into Burma in early 1944 and highlights the participation of significantly improved Chinese forces supported by their American combat advisors. This section includes a brief examination of the role played by Merrill's Marauders, the first U.S. ground combat formation that fought in CBI Theater alongside their Chinese and British counterparts. Part two concentrates on the differences in the leadership of the advisory mission when General Stilwell was replaced by Lieutenant General Albert C. Wedemeyer to highlight the change in the command climate under which the advisors conducted their complex and difficult mission. The third section examines the establishment of a separate China theater of operations, the end of the fight in Burma, and the defense of central China in the face of a

renewed Japanese offensive. This part ends with an evaluation of the Nationalist forces and their American advisors as they are finally poised to go on the offensive in China and provides an overview of the status of the forces the United States had trained and equipped at the time of the Japanese surrender.

The Evolving Strategic Situation

From October of 1944 through September of 1945, the rapidly changing strategic situation in the other theaters of war and the successes of the American drive across the Pacific directed to the invasion of the Japanese home islands directly influenced the America's advisory activities in China. By October 1944, with the successful Allied landings in France in June 1944, the breakout from the Normandy beaches in August, and the eastward advancement of Soviet forces, the end of the war in Europe appeared to be in sight. While the Ardennes winter offensive slowed the timetable, Germany was defeated and surrendered in May of 1945 with the fall of Berlin. This event freed up Allied forces, and perhaps more importantly for China, large amounts of equipment and war materials for the conflict in the Pacific.

Significantly, the Soviets prepared to follow through on the promise to join the war against the Japanese. Stalin had confirmed this at the Tehran conference immediately following Roosevelt's November 1943 meeting with Jiang and Churchill at Cairo, Egypt. Between May and August 1945 more than one and a half million Soviet military personnel massed and successfully attacked Japanese and Chinese puppet forces in Manchuria.[1] Successful American operations at sea and in the island hopping campaigns across the central and southwest Pacific created the opportunity of long-range bomber attacks against the Japanese home islands from these newly won territories.

The strategic military value of China's ground forces, airfields, and potential eastern coastal bases of operations to the overall Allied effort was significantly eroded with these successes in the other theaters of war. Although a coordinated multinational campaign to retake Burma was finally showing success in the Fall of 1944, the much needed land line of communication to supplement the increasingly capable air transportation route to China was still months away. In a chapter in a recently published study of the air resupply effort in the CBI called "The Hump Becomes an Airline: October 1944 to August 1945," John D. Plating discusses the evolving supply operations to China at this critical time. He says, "Ironically, the diminution of China's strategic value did not correspond to a reduction in Hump tonnage requests, rather, ICD [India-China Division] deliveries soared to unbelievable proportions, with 75 percent of the Hump's wartime total of over three-quarters of a million tons being delivered in the war's final year."[2]

The availability of sufficient equipment, supporting personnel, and facilities finally allowed large-scale air operations by B-29 heavy bombers directly against the Japanese home islands from China now began to look more viable. However, the concurrent effort necessary to build Chinese land force capable of protecting these airfields, the seat of the Nationalist government in Chongqing, and the key training and logistics hub at Kunming was still behind schedule. In early 1945, the supplies and equipment to mount an offensive campaign against Japanese forces and to secure staging areas in the coastal areas of eastern and southern China was still many months away. In October 1944, the key to success in China was still contingent on Allied victories in Burma and the opening of a landline of communications.

Burma is Critical to the Chinese Effort

Combat operations in Burma were under the direct command of the British General Sir William Slim.[3] His British 14th Army and the Chinese Army in India (CAI), the X-Force trained and organized in Ramgarh, were initially deployed to open a northern route from India across Burma to establish both a landline of communications, but also to allow a safer air route over less forbidding mountains peaks. The larger offensive to retake all of Burma required the divisions of the Chinese Expeditionary Army (CEA) or Y-Force, being trained, and equipped in the Kunming area, to attack from southern China to complement the offensive from eastern India. The military and political leadership of the United States and England continued negotiations with Jiang to fulfill his promise to Roosevelt and the Allies to release these forces for the offensive in Burma. However, Jiang saw these forces as necessary for the defense of Chongqing and Kunming, key areas increasingly threatened by the success of a Japanese offensive. The Chinese forces, deployed at various locations throughout southwestern China, were advised by Americans under the command of Brigadier General Frank Dorn. He was another experienced China hand, had served in Nanjing as a military attaché in the 1930s, and had been with Stilwell as his aide and deputy since December of 1941, including on his retreat from Burma.[4] The CEA consisted of elements of the thirty divisions of the Y-Force arrayed in Yunnan and Guangxi provinces. Dorn, as had Stilwell, fully supported deploying these units into Burma in support of the larger effort.

David W. Hogan, *India-Burma*, http://www.history.army.mil/brochures/indiaburma/indiaburma.htm (3 October 2003).

As the controversy over the timing and composition of the attacking forces continued, the divisions of the CAI moved forward from Ramgarh and began the offensive. Boatner's American advisory teams and supporting American logistics and medical elements were integrated into the Chinese formations to secure the road to Ledo and prepare for the attack into Burma. From the earliest days of his deployment to the theater, Stilwell had repeatedly requested U.S. ground combat forces for the CBI.[5] In 1942, this was a virtual impossibility given the time lag in mobilizing and training U.S. infantry divisions, the announced "Europe First" strategy, and the focus on the early Allied campaign to stop the Japanese advance in the South Pacific north of Australia. The initial Japanese naval superiority in the Central Pacific was a major factor limiting early American offensive action and support to China. The decision not to send U.S. ground combat forces to the CBI was essentially precluded by the Army's decision to commence a ground campaign in the Southwest Pacific. This offensive action was to take place at the earliest possible time in the alongside the Navy's effort in the Solomon Islands.[6] Given Britain's earlier losses in Asia and the ongoing campaign in North Africa, training and equipping the Chinese was the only viable option for large numbers of ground forces to oppose the Japanese in the CBI.

In terms of an early campaign to retake Burma, these Alliance strategic realities weakened Stilwell's position with the Jiang and the British. You could not train and equip Chinese ground forces if you did not have a landline of communication across Burma. However, he had a problem convincing the British military leadership and the Generalissimo to retake Burma at the earliest opportunity. Without U.S. ground combat units in theater to share the burden he had little leverage to obtain the commitment for British and Chinese forces for a 1943 campaign. The British appeared satisfied with defending India and did not see the recapture of Burma as an immediate strategic necessity. Jiang did not want to commit his forces before they

were ready and take the chance of suffering another humiliating setback.[7] This became even more problematic with the needs of the British to defend Egypt and the planned Allied effort in North Africa (Operation Torch). Although there were almost one hundred thousand American military personnel in the CBI Theater by early 1944, the majority of them were part of the logistical tail of the Service of Supply (SOS) charged with supporting all of the Allied forces in the theater or was part of the American air transport or strategic bombing effort. Additionally, there were engineer, medical, and tactical Army Air Corps units conducting independent operations or supporting the British or Chinese forces in Burma, India, and China.

The fact that there were no American ground combat forces in the CBI Theater was a continuing signal to Jiang of the theater's lower priority in the overall Allied strategy. This lack of commitment also highlighted the Allied expectation that China could provide the needed manpower and ground combat units. These forces only needed the training and equipment to build an adequate force with the capability to play a major role in the effort against the Japanese. In terms of strategic ends, ways, and means, the allies only agreed on the ends, the defeat of Japan's military. Who would supply the manpower, key supporting capabilities, and equipment, and when and how it would be done, was constantly being postponed and revised, and was never satisfactorily resolved. The introduction of U.S. ground combat forces in 1944 was a powerful symbol of America's commitment to this theater and China's role in the overall Allied strategy.[8]

An American ground combat brigade finally made it into theater more than two years after the deployment of AMMISCA. In February 1944, the unit that became known as Merrill's Marauders arrived in India to prepare for offensive action in Burma. The American 5307th Brigade (Provisional), a light infantry unit, was configured to operate as a long-range penetration element and was similar to the "Chindits," a British force organized by Brigadier Orde C.

Wingate. These units were to operate independently in the Japanese rear area to attack lines of communication and harass weakly defended depots and facilities. The idea was to force the Japanese to expend scarce men and resources responding to attacks by a strong, capable force supported by air resupply and medical evacuation assets. The majority of this air support was provided by the U.S. First Air Commando Squadron commanded by Colonel Philip G. Cochran, assisted by both conventional British and American air transport units. Cochran was later made famous by the comic strip "Terry and the Pirates."[9]

These operations by British units, and later Merrill's Marauders, were launched with high expectations.[10] While successful, these deployments behind Japanese lines were conducted at great human cost to the soldiers involved in terms of battle casualties, physical exhaustion, and the effects of the debilitating illnesses endemic to the environment in Burma. Their overarching purpose was to help forestall a Japanese offensive into India, weaken the enemy's defensive posture and logistics capabilities, and support the upcoming large-scale Allied attacks to defeat the Japanese in Burma. Shelford Bidwell's book, *The Chindit War: Stilwell, Wingate, and the Campaign in Burma: 1944* provides an excellent account of these operations, as does Charles J. Rolo's contemporary work published in 1944, *Wingate's Raiders: An Account of the Fabulous Adventure That Raised the Curtain on the Battle for Burma*.

In military terms, these units and their unique operations are best characterized as an economy-of-force effort. While bold, innovative, and carried out with courage and determination, the effect of these operations on the overall Japanese military capabilities was limited. Large combat formations, corps and divisions, operating with secure logistics networks, were necessary to drive the Japanese out of Burma. Nevertheless, once these units were

committed, their operations provided an impetus for further Allied action to reopen this vital line of communication.

Stilwell was eager to quickly commit the first American ground combat unit assigned to the CBI Theater to combined operations with the Chinese divisions trained at Ramgarh and in southern China against the Japanese. The Marauders were put under the command of one of Stilwell's most trusted subordinates, Colonel Frank D. Merrill, who had also served with him from the earliest days of the war. Merrill displaced Colonel Charles N. Hunter, who had originally formed the brigade and continued to serve as its deputy commander. One of the tasks of this unit, in addition to playing a key role in the offensive in northern Burma, was to serve as a role model of American force's combat competency and offensive spirit for their Chinese and British counterparts.[11] The intended presence of an American ground maneuver unit was an indication of the Roosevelt administration's continuing commitment to China and to successful combined Allied operations in the CBI Theater. Nevertheless, this was only one ground combat brigade, not the corps and subordinate elements that Stilwell had asked for previously. Great Britain and China would have to provide the upper level headquarters and subordinate divisions. The United States would provide limited air support and American equipment and advisors to China.

In late 1943, the three divisions of the original X-Force (22nd, 30th and 38th) and the supporting elements of the New First Army forces of the Chinese Army in India (CAI), also trained and equipped at Ramgarh, began to reposition forward to prepare for the long awaited northern Burma offensive. By early 1944, elements of the Chinese 38th and 22nd successfully engaged the Japanese and were moving to open a landline of communication from India through northern Burma to China in concert with Merrill's Marauders. In May of 1944, eleven divisions

of the CEA from Yunnan Province in China supported by American advisors under the direction of Brigadier General Frank Dorn, were finally released by Jiang for employment, and moved into northern and eastern Burma.[12] The composition, employment parameters, and command arrangements of this force had finally been settled. Roosevelt who had been convinced by Stilwell and Marshall that his direct involvement with Jiang was necessary to force his approval on this key issue finally broke this stalemate.[13] However, in the end, this intervention by Stilwell into the Chinese leader's command prerogatives, his confrontational approach, and his condescending attitude toward Jiang and several of his key military leaders resulted in a virtual ultimatum to President Roosevelt by the Generalissimo for his recall.[14]

The Generalissimo had used the deployment of his forces into Burma as leverage to increase his involvement in Allied strategy and decision-making. He also wanted greater control of the content and distribution of American logistics support over the Hump. The introduction of these forces also allowed him to prod the British to increase the number of their forces committed to the offensive in Burma. This directly influenced the timing of the campaign and the strength of the forces the Japanese could deploy against the Chinese. This issue clearly established his position as commander of all Chinese forces and by extension his importance to the overall Allied effort against the Japanese in Asia. Now that the offensive was ongoing in Burma, the priority of Hump tonnage had to go to the committed CEF units engaged in combat operations in northern Burma. While the focus for the advisors was on operations in Burma and the CAI and CEF, the reorganization and training of the second group of thirty Chinese divisions of the Z-Force by American advisors continued albeit as a bare bones effort. Nevertheless, the American advise and assist effort was finally starting to move in the right direction.

The Allied effort in Burma was evidence of what could be accomplished with unified action. By July of 1944, after blunting a flawed and poorly planned Japanese offensive into India from central Burma, General William J. Slim directed a multi-division counterattack from Imphal. This attack put the Japanese forces in the north opposing the Chinese at risk of being cut off from their base of supply. The British also provided its 36th Division to reinforce the Chinese and American forces conducting the offensive in northern Burma.[15] After more than two years, the Allies were finally on the road to defeating the Japanese in the Burma.

> For a long time we could not be sure how much we were accomplishing, because time alone could give the battle-tested answer. The answer was given in the spring and summer of 1944 when General Joseph W. Stilwell led his expertly trained Chinese forces into combat against the Japanese in North Burma. In the hard-fought Hukawng and Mogaung valley campaigns, later the surprise attack in Myitkyina, Ramgarh-trained Chinese divisions formed the bulk of the forces that blasted the enemy out of his jungle positions....[16]

In August of 1944, Merrill's Marauders, in a combined effort with the Chinese New First Army, the three divisions of CAI, and two additional divisions staged through Ramgarh supported by their American advisors, finally took the key rail and road junction and airfield at Myitkyina. Exhausted and depleted after more than six months of near continuous combat, the American 5307th Infantry Brigade (Provisional) was withdrawn to India and disbanded.[17] Fighting alongside the American and British units, the Chinese forces had proven their worth and gained valuable combat experience. Although it would still be months before supply convoys would roll into Kunming, the fate of the Japanese in northern Burma was sealed. More importantly for the American advisors, this campaign validated their efforts at Ramgarh and in the training of the Y-Force at facilities in southern China. The Chinese-American team had shown the viability of its cooperative effort.

The clash of personalities, cultures, and strategies at the senior command level definitely had its effects in terms of unity of command and the timing and composition of forces in the campaign. Nevertheless, despite the problem areas, a combat capable Chinese force had taken to the field and defeated the Japanese. The solid performance of these units can be attributed to the tireless efforts of Stilwell. However, his enduring faith in the potential of the Chinese soldier if they could only be well led also presaged his being replaced. He had fought for the American advisors and supporting personnel sent to the CBI Theater, demanded a major share of China's lend-lease needed to build the ground forces, and pushed for the earliest return to combat in Burma. The performance of the Sino-American team in the field and the recapture of Burma was, ironically, a pyrrhic victory for its senior leader. Stilwell's bitter in-fighting with Jiang and the senior Chinese military leadership over who was in charge of China's military forces, how they should be deployed and fought, and how their modernization would take place culminated in the Fall of 1944. He was relieved just as the forces trained and equipped by his advisors, supplied over his road, had proven their worth in combat, and were about to open up the vital supply line critical to follow-on operations in China.[18]

Change of Command

> As in January 1942, so again in October 1944, the United States of American ordered one of its general officers to act as a chief of staff to Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, the Supreme Commander of the China Theater in the war between the United Nations and Germany, Italy, and Japan. On both occasions, Japanese successes in the field alarmed the U.S. Government and preceded the step. But events had not been static during the intervening thirty-four months, and so the two officers concerned Lt. Gen. Joseph W. Stilwell in 1942-1944, and Lt. Gen. Albert C. Wedemeyer in 1944-1946, faced situations whose differences are as enlightening as their similarities.[19]

Lieutenant General Albert C. Wedemeyer, not unlike Stillwell more than two and a half years before, took up his new position as the Generalissimo's senior American advisor in the

midst of a crisis situation. While the Allies were being successful in Burma and in the air over China, a Japanese offensive was now threatening Chongqing, Kunming, and airfields in central China. The position of senior American advisor in China continued to demand diplomatic skills, expertise in military planning and logistics, and a cultural and situational understanding of the political-military environment in China and the region. However, for this very different emerging strategic situation in October of 1944, a different type of American officer was selected for the role of Chief of Staff to Jiang and senior advisor to the Nationalist forces. This officer also served as commander of all American forces in China including a growing cadre of military trainers and advisors.

A classic military novel by Anton Myrer provides insights into how the American military looks at different leadership styles. *Once an Eagle*, first published in 1968, was reprinted in 1997 with a new foreword by retired Army Vice Chief of Staff and Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, John W. Vessey, who received a battlefield commission during the Second World War. He states Myrer's fictional description of the military careers of two very distinct military officer types, "is both a perceptive study of the profession of arms and a chilling overview of armed conflict."[20] The comparisons evident in this book to Stilwell and Wedemeyer are both striking and instructive.

The hero, Sam Damon (Stilwell), is a field soldier who comes up through the ranks during the First World War and becomes an exemplar of the type of officer that "will be required if this nation is to remain free and at peace."[21] His opposite number is Courtney Massengale (Wedemeyer), a figure depicted as a self-serving staff officer who shuns command of troops in the field and continually seeks positions on higher-level staffs to better display his considerable talents and lobby for promotion. Receiving a battlefield commission, Damon's career focuses on

combat leadership and the training of soldiers. He purposely avoids assignments on the Army staff or positions of influence at the national level in Washington. His father-in-law, a former battlefield commander and mentor, Colonel Caldwell, is noted as having served "at Tientsin with the elite 15th Regiment."[22] Massengale, born into the military officer caste, is brilliant and competent, but is ill at ease in the field on combat maneuvers. He is a very political officer more capable working on higher level staffs and comfortable hobnobbing in the officer's club. He avoided troop duty and tactical level commands to the greatest extent possible, but rose quickly through the ranks with competent staff work, personal connections, self-promotion, and his service under influential senior officers in high profile staff positions.

Certain analogies to Stilwell and Wedemeyer are easily inferred from the coincidences in Myrer's work. For example, Damon commanded at Fort Ord, California, located near Stilwell's home in Carmel and the Presidio of Monterey where he commanded the U.S. Army's Third Corps at the outbreak of the Second World War. The book also concentrates on Damon's long service in the Philippines and Asia, including his initial assignment of World War Two fighting in the jungles of the South Pacific analogous to Stilwell's jungle fight in Burma. In contrast, Massengale was serving on a high-level staff in Washington at the beginning of the Second World War, which is where Wedemeyer began the conflict. He was then sent to North Africa, which was to be Stilwell's duty station if he had not been selected by Marshall to go to China. The most telling coincidence and a useful reference for this study is in Chapter 8 of the book describing Damon being sent to China in the 1930s from his duty station in the Philippines to observe the Communist guerrilla forces fighting the Japanese.

Stilwell had served as a military attaché in China in the late 1930s, studying both the war with Japan and the internal political-military situation between the Nationalists and the

Communists. Later, in his role as Chief of Staff to the Generalissimo, he pressed Jiang with the agreement of Roosevelt and State Department personnel, to be allowed to send an American military observer group to Mao's headquarters at Yan'an. The description of Damon's mission to observe the Chinese Communists appears to be based on the real life experiences of USMC Captain Evans Carlson, whose time with Mao's Eighteenth Route Army in 1937 is described in his book *Two Stars Over China*. Captain Carlson, who eventually retired as a general officer, had worked with Colonel Stilwell at the embassy in Nanjing and several of the journalists who covered the Communist movement in China in the 1930s. Captain Carlson, later resigned from the Marine Corps to write his book, but rejoined when the war began. He commanded the famous, but controversial, Carlson's Raiders in the fighting in the South Pacific early in the war. Captain Carlson, when assigned as a military aide, became a personal family friend and unofficial advisor to President Roosevelt on China and especially on the Chinese Communist leadership.[23]

In a very insightful passage in *Once an Eagle*, Damon muses about his time as an observer with a Chinese Communist guerrilla unit:

> It was like being lifted off the ground, floating and kicking, unable to use your feet--or as though you'd been dropped naked into a huge garden of strangers; very polite, very gracious and well-mannered strangers; it was true, but who were nonetheless quite conscious of your astounding nudity. Now on the verge of observing his first action against the Japanese he felt ill at ease, extraneous, without sustaining force of purpose, the fierce absorption of duties and responsibilities. He wasn't cut out for this type of work. Massengale could do it, he'd be superb at it,--this was just his meat, sitting by and watching events unfold, crisis and countermove, making trenchant observations and witty analogies...Only Massengale wouldn't have taken the detail in the first place.[24]

First published in the middle of the Vietnam War where a significant advisory effort to the Army of South Vietnam was ongoing, the book provides this description of an American officer assigned to observe a Chinese unit in combat. This passage provides insights into the

personal feelings of lower level military observers, and by extension advisors, to another nation's army. As an advisor or liaison officer, you are not in charge, and the soldiers you are observing are not under your command, nor are they your fellow countrymen. It is military professionalism and a sense of adventure, not patriotism, or nationalism that provides the primary motivation to serve in this capacity. As an outsider, to step in and take responsibility in the middle of an action either violates the purpose of the assigned task to observe, or if an advisor, to admit that your charges are either not capable or not ready to operate on their own.

The implication for American military observers, liaison officers, and advisors is that different leadership traits are needed to succeed in this type of military mission. This was a role Damon, and by analogy Stilwell, was ill prepared to assume despite his knowledge of China's culture and language, personal bravery and dogged determination to accomplish the mission at any cost. At one point in the chapter, Damon steps in and takes charge, an action for which he later apologizes to a knowing and patient Chinese Communist commander. The intended lesson is only too obvious. The host nation forces must be allowed to succeed or fail on their own and learn from their experiences. The advisor can best influence events advising after the action is completed and by practicing the technique of "leading from the rear." The range of actions that can be taken by the observer or advisor even in combat is by definition circumscribed, despite the position's potential for personal risk and mortal danger.

The last line quoted above pertains to how this type of duty of advisor or observer with foreign forces is valued in terms of the professional advancement in the American military. Although more difficult and often as dangerous as service with one's own forces, advisor duty is not often perceived as career enhancing and not to be taken: if it can be avoided. Advisor duty is also often seen to be of lesser importance than leading American troops in combat for future

command selection and promotion. In Stilwell's time as Chief of Staff to the Generalissimo, one of the key recurring areas of disagreements with Jiang was the issue of Americans being given direct, unencumbered command of deployed Chinese forces. These included the permission to fire incompetent officers and promote those who proved their worth on the battlefield. This problem first surfaced for Stilwell in the spring of 1942 in the initial defense of Burma. This same situation would also emerge in Wedemeyer's term as Chief of Staff to the Generalissimo, but his relationship and mode of dealing with Jiang was much different. Although not a China hand, he was in some ways more successful than Stilwell was in that he was more able to take into account Jiang's position as a national political and military leader. This is an additional irony in that Stilwell was the long serving cultural expert and Wedemeyer had refused the chance to be a language student in China when offered.

Differences over command prerogatives, a personal sense of "face" or prestige, and knowing one's position in the hierarchy were the critical issues in Stilwell's eventual relief. Despite his long service and knowledge of China, Stilwell's attempts to reorganize the forces, change how command and control was executed in the Nationalist Army, and to decentralize battlefield decision-making was not successful. He either chose to ignore, or did not properly account for, the political-military circumstances of the Nationalist regime. His mental and geographic focus on Burma and the tactical level of the conflict, as indicated by his time at the front, potentially came at the cost of influence at Chongqing.

Jiang and other senior Chinese generals continued to directly communicate and influence the actions of subordinate military leaders from positions far from the battlefield. One reason for this was related to the domestic political realities. Jiang was less the leader of a national army than an alliance of forces held together by an evolving and immature political and military

system influenced by traditional cultural values and regional prerogatives. A sense of Chinese nationalism had not yet replaced regionalism and overcome warlordism. The building of a national army had been an ongoing task for Jiang since he established the military academy at Huangpu. Even after nearly two decades of war and conflict, the Chinese military was still very much a work in progress. The American model was the latest one available to Jiang in the Nationalists' post 1911 revolution history.

The intra-regime military leadership dynamics and what the Chinese call "guanxi" or relationships made the selection of military leaders more political and personal than military and professional. This situation was as true in 1944 with the CAI and CEA conducting operations in northern Burma as it had been in April of 1942 with the humiliating retreat of the Chinese 5th and 6th Armies during Allied operations to try to hold on to that vital line of communications. This problem was exacerbated in 1944 by Jiang's initial rejection of Stilwell's request to employ, under U.S. command; the American trained, supported, and advised Y-Force units of the CEA in the offensive in Burma in operations critical to re-opening a land route to China. In October of 1944, when Wedemeyer arrived to replace Stilwell, he was aware of the key issues involved in the controversial relationship between Jiang and Stilwell. He had been serving as Chief of Staff to the British Commander of Southeast Asia Command (SEAC), Lord Louis Mountbatten, officially one of Stilwell's superiors.[25]

Stilwell, the tactical commander, and Wedemeyer, the strategic staff officer, were certainly very different kinds of leaders with very different pre-war experiences and career paths. Stilwell had opted to study the language and served repetitively in China. He also sought service with troops in command and training assignments whenever possible. In contrast, Wedemeyer had refused the opportunity to stay in China and study the language. He gravitated to higher-

level staff work including service as a plans officer in the War Department in Washington. The two officers were both highly regarded and had previously served with Marshall, and in China in the 15th Infantry Regiment. Wedemeyer started the war as a staff officer in Washington. He was serving far from the fight in Southeast Asia Command (SEAC) headquarters in Ceylon when selected for the position in China. Stilwell began the war as a Corps commander and was then selected to serve as the Chief of Staff to Jiang. An argument can certainly be made that Stilwell should have concentrated on the political-military problems and built relationships at the higher levels of command in Chongqing. Instead, he elected to spend the majority of his time planning lower level operations, observing and directing the training effort in India, and eventually commanding forces far forward on the battlefields in northern Burma. It is certainly evident that knowledge of culture and language while possibly necessary is certainly not sufficient. It is also clear that different skills, attributes, personalities, and leadership traits are needed at different levels of war, and as a military advisor and trainer.

In the real life drama and complexity of wartime China, the evaluation of the strengths and weaknesses, and the successes and failures, of Generals Stilwell and Wedemeyer is much less black and white and much more nuanced than type-cast and purposely contrived fictional depictions, no matter how well written. The task of general officers whose primary role is representing their country as a senior military advisor is a very different task from commanding one's own national forces. A major effort to reorganize, train, equip, advise, and assist another country’s armed forces in the middle of a war against a capable and determined enemy has to be one of the most complex tasks any group of military personnel can undertake. This task is even more difficult when working in a country with an entirely different history, war experience, and military culture.

The anthropologist, Ruth Benedict, prepared a famous study on Japanese culture for the Office of War Information (OWI) early in the war. *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword* begins with the thought "The Japanese were the most alien enemy the United States had every fought in an all-out struggle." In China, for the advisors at all levels, the Chinese may have been the most alien ally the United States had ever assisted in an all out struggle-- first in war with Japan and later in its internal civil war.[26] Nevertheless, by late 1944, the Japanese were being defeated in Burma by Chinese forces trained, equipped, and advised by American military personnel. These advisors with notable exceptions, for the most part, had no experience working in this part of the world, were novices at war, at teaching about war and its accoutrements, and certainly at working with their Chinese counterparts.

Stilwell had arguable set the conditions for Allied tactical success on the ground in Burma with his personal involvement, courage, and determination, traits that General Marshall knew he possessed when he recommended him for the job to President Roosevelt. The forces trained at Ramgarh and in southern China by American advisors, directed by men Stilwell personally knew and selected, had succeeded in the classroom, in the training areas, and on the battlefield. For the British military leadership who doubted China's war fighting capabilities, this was an object lesson on what Chinese soldiers could accomplish when well trained and equipped. The British view was likely biased not only by the earlier battles in Burma in 1942, but also by the previous hundred years of Sino-British conflict from the days of the Opium Wars. The Ramgarh system of training and equipping Chinese forces was also a lesson for the Generalissimo and his senior military leadership. Chinese forces properly cared for, led, trained, equipped, supplied, supported and advised could defeat Japanese forces and perform as competent allies in difficult combined operations. The question was not the American's ability to

continue this effort, but the Chinese requirements for, and self-imposed limitations on, this support.

Despite the emerging successes in India and Burma, in the larger picture, after more than two and half years of American effort, less than forty Chinese divisions out of more than three hundred had been trained and equipped. In reality, only those trained at Ramgarh were close to American standards, and virtually no reorganization or culling of incompetent senior Chinese officers had taken place. In remarks in an early 1945 assessment, Congressman Mike Mansfield wrote that corruption in the Nationalist Army was still rampant and, for the average soldier, "being conscripted into the Chinese army is like receiving a death sentence because the soldier receives no training, no food, and little equipment."[27] This assessment, like Stilwell's criticisms, where undoubtedly correct, but for Jiang the cure was seen as possibly worse than the disease. There was only so far that the advisory effort would be allowed to go in modernizing the Nationalist forces. Jiang's removal of the Soviet advisors, constraints on the Germans at Huangpu, and abrupt ending of the American airplane sales and training effort to China in the early 1930s were precursors of his sensitivity to the parameters of any foreign advisory effort.

In the final analysis, Stilwell had, through his own force or flaw of personality and judgment, created a situation where the head of the allied sovereign nation he was sent to assist had demanded his relief. The emerging paradox was that only a U.S. trained, led, or advised Chinese force could consistently win on the battlefield against the Japanese. However, if Jiang allowed Americans to usurp command of his forces, and therefore his political position, the very stability and viability of Nationalist China could be at risk. This was further complicated by the fact that surrender or accommodation with the Japanese, by Jiang or his replacement, was always a possibility the Allies had to keep in mind. The choice for Jiang was only too obvious; he

demanded a different American senior advisor and a new approach to this strategic partnership. This created an embarrassing situation for Stilwell and by extension Marshall his friend and sponsor. The legacy of the successes and failures of the Sino-American partnership since the establishment of AMMISCA in 1941 was a challenge for Wedemeyer and the leadership in Washington in the fall of 1944, and in the years ahead.

The leadership of the United States (Roosevelt) and the American Army (Marshall) was forced to acquiesce to this foreign leader's demand. Stilwell had to be relieved and someone better suited to the difficult role of Chief of Staff to the Generalissimo found to replace him. The selection of a capable follow-on leader to undo the damage done and move ahead to the next stage of the advisory effort was important. However, in hindsight this was also a pyrrhic victory for Jiang and the Nationalists. Within six months, Roosevelt would be dead and Harry S. Truman would be the President of the United States. Marshall would serve Truman, not only as leader of the American Army at war, but later in China as first the President's personal representative and then as ambassador, and after that as his Secretary of State. The legacy of this acrimony and mutual loss of face had significant strategic consequences. Marshall had seen the intransigence of Jiang in terms of slow rolling Allied offensive action and the improvement to his own forces in the face of a common foe. In addition, Marshall had been forced to cashier his loyal and trusted subordinate. Marshall would be the new president’s senior diplomat and, as will be discussed later, his most influential advisor for China policy through the end of the war and through Jiang's lost campaign to defeat the Communists and control China.

A China Theater is Established

If the situation in China was to be turned around, it seemed a senior officer with a different leadership style, temperament, interpersonal relationship skills, and personality was

needed. In late 1944, it was now Wedemeyer's turn to try to move this problematic wartime ally and its military forces forward to a greater effort against the Japanese to support the overall war effort in Asia. In addition to Wedemeyer's personal papers there are two books that outline his role in China that are used as references in this study. In *Wedemeyer Reports! An objective, dispassionate examination of World War II, post-war policies, and Grand Strategy* published in 1958, Wedemeyer tells this story in his own words.[28] A second book, *Wedemeyer on War and Peace,* edited by Keith Eiler also covers his contributions to the military and the nation during this critical period. This reference includes commentary and analysis of this senior military leader's actions and copies of key documents from the period. , Wedemeyer's most difficult challenge as a military leader, strategist, and planner was his time in China in the last year of the war and during the immediate post-war period.

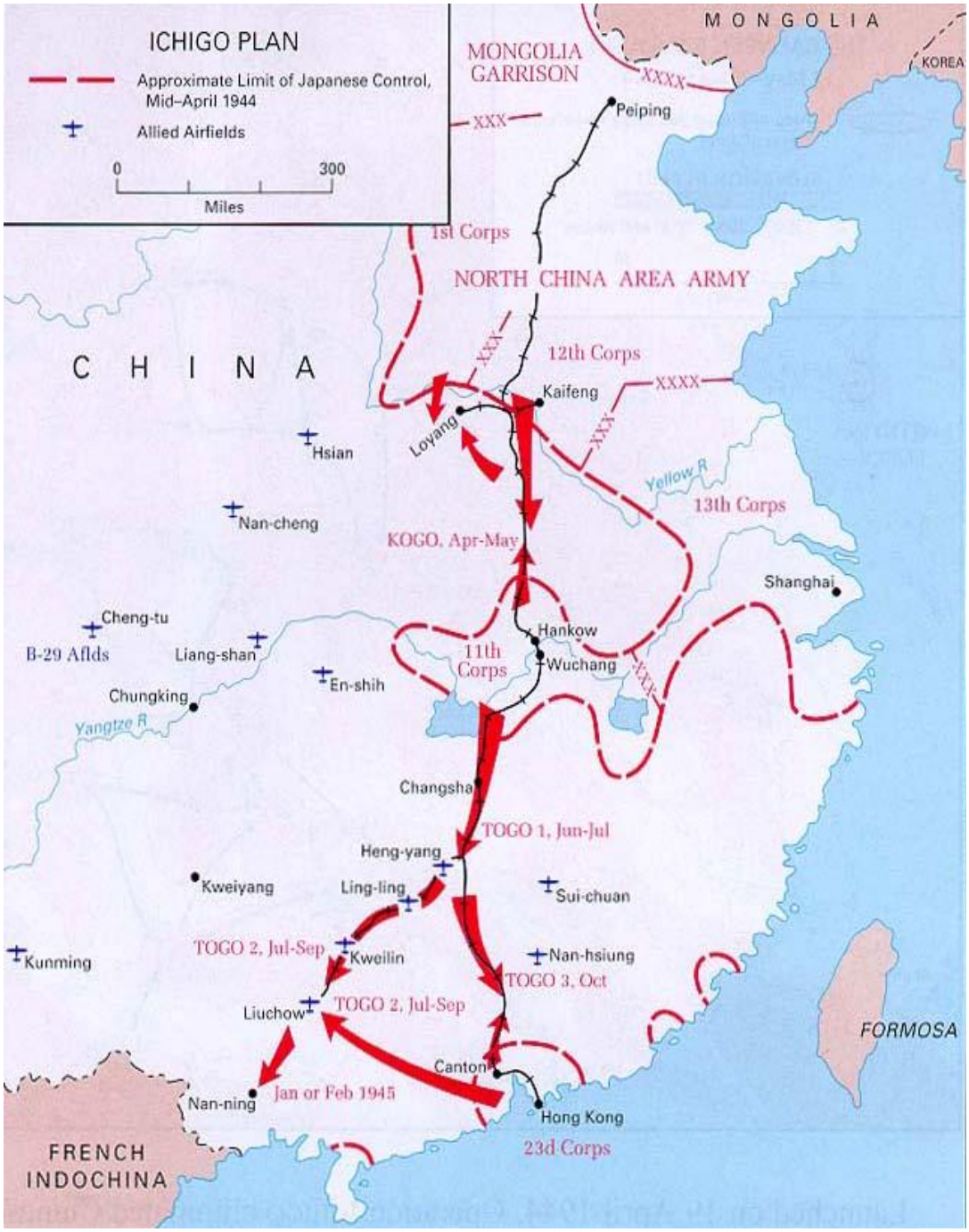
In October 1944, China was still on the defensive, uncertain that the Allies could stop further Japanese offensive actions, and still unevenly prepared for Japan's ongoing offensive in China. The campaign in Burma was going well, but the Japanese were not defeated and hard fighting remained. Despite herculean efforts to build a road and pipeline through some very difficult terrain, the ground supply line so necessary for a more rapid buildup of the Nationalist Army were still not fully operational. From the earliest days of the war, Roosevelt had argued with the other Allies that China had to be supported and had great potential to play a key role in the post-war environment in Asia. None of this would be possible without an increased ability to train, equip, and supply the Chinese armed forces, and that could only proceed if Burma was completely in Allied hands and China's capital and key logistics center in the west were protected and secure from Japanese attack. Progress had been made training and equipping the first thirty divisions, but that was less than ten per cent of the Nationalist Army. The Japanese,

while retreating across the Pacific after a series of defeats on land and sea, still maintained a large and powerful military presence in China. While slowly being pushed out of Burma, they were still capable of sustained offensive action against the Nationalist forces in China.

The Japanese reacted to the reverses in Burma, the building Allied air threat from Chinese bases, and their increasingly precarious sea lines of communications from the home islands and eastern Chinese ports to Southeast Asia with the ICHIGO offensive. In late spring 1944, Japan had consolidated its position in Manchuria and eastern China and massed forces to attack south and west. By November, the Japanese had taken Kweilin (Guilin) and Liuchow (Liuzhou), captured or isolated key forward airfields, and disrupted the American training and advisory efforts to the second thirty divisions of Z-Force. The success of the offensive put the Japanese in a position to either continue south and link up with their forces in Indochina, or to turn to the west and northwest toward Kweiyang (Guiyang) and Chongqing or southwest to Kunming, the vital training center and re-supply hub.

The potential emerging threat to Jiang's wartime capital was especially troubling. The loss of either Chongqing or Kunming could be catastrophic for America's effort to equip, logistically support, and maintain the fighting spirit of the Nationalist Army.[29] Faced with this critical situation, a major change to the current Allied command arrangement was logical and timely. With the selection of Wedemeyer to replace Stilwell, a decision was also made by the senior Allied leadership to change areas of responsibility in the China-Burma-India Theater. The threat inside China due to the Japanese ICHIGO offensive demanded a greater American focus and effort.

The map below outlines the scope of the Japanese offensive.



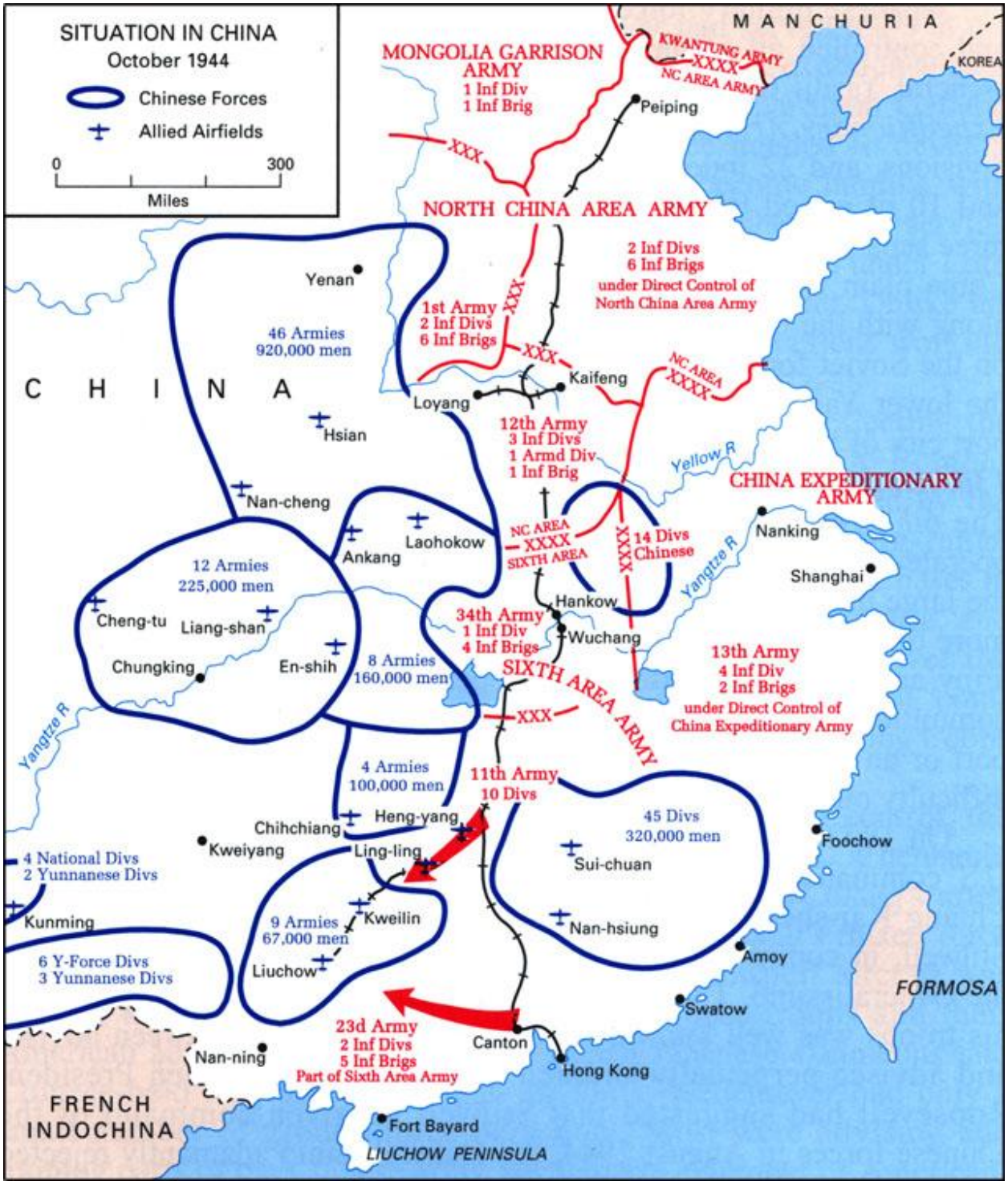
Mark D. Sherry, *China Defense*. http://www.history.army.mil/brochures/72-38/map3.JPG (3 October 2003).

The October 28, 1944 White House press release that was prepared to announce Stilwell's relief also outlined the new command arrangements.

> The former China-Burma-India Theater will be divided into two theaters under separate commanders. The U.S. Forces in the China Theater will be commanded by Major General A. C. Wedemeyer who has been appointed concurrently by the Generalissimo, Chief of Staff of the China Theater. General Wedemeyer is now Deputy Chief of Staff to Admiral Mountbatten. The United States Forces in the India-Burma Theater will be commanded by Lieutenant General Daniel I. Sultan, now Deputy Commander of the China-Burma-India Theater.[30]

President Roosevelt and General Marshall had not only selected a different type of commander to lead the effort in China, they also sent a signal to Jiang by having a senior American officer whose sole focus would now be operations in China.

The Generalissimo's role in Burma had also been reduced while, at the same time, the importance of dealing with problems of preparing the Chinese armed forces was now being emphasized. India and Burma remained absolutely critical to increasing the delivery of supplies and equipment to China, and its forces were still engaged in combat in support of the British and American forces. However, the emerging threat in China now demanded more detailed planning and activities in Burma were now less of an issue for Jiang's direct involvement. Whether Stilwell's fault or Jiang's fault, or both, in the two and a half years of effort only a small portion of the Nationalist ground forces had been fighting the Japanese. The situation on the ground in China relative to the invaders and occupiers had not improved; in fact, with ICHIGO the position had become more precarious. China's continued military weakness had also allowed Japan to position itself operationally to successful mount an offensive that brought significant forces to within striking distance of the wartime capital. The situation on the ground is portrayed on this map from the Center for Military History's *China Offensive.*



Mark D. Sherry, *China Defense*. http://www.history.army.mil/brochures/chinoff/p05 (map).jpg (3 October 2003)

With this dangerous Japanese offensive ongoing in China and the successful Allied offensive operations in Burma, command and control and theater geometry [areas of command authority and responsibility] became an issue. Most of the American trained and equipped Chinese forces were now committed, British forces were fully engaged, and American ground and air elements were now playing a significant role. The principle of war, unity of command, and the changing situation demanded changes in the Allied headquarters structure. The timing of the selection of Wedemeyer to replace Stilwell provided an opportunity to make these changes to the command arrangements. Stilwell's deputy, Lt. Gen. Daniel I. Sultan, was selected to command U. S. forces in Burma and India. Unlike Stilwell, who had commanded all U.S. forces in the CBI Theater and was Chief of Staff to Jiang, this change would allow Wedemeyer to concentrate on efforts in China. , his two key tasks were to reestablish a cooperative and supporting relationship with Jiang and help reorganize and reposition the Chinese divisions in southwest China to oppose the ongoing Japanese offensive.

As Wedemeyer deployed to Chongqing in late 1944, the situation continued to evolve on the ground as Chinese units of the CAI and CEA with their American advisors and supporting U.S. medical, engineer, and logistics units continued to be successful in northern Burma. However, for Wedemeyer, there was very little time to build working relationships, reorganize his staff, and put his trusted personnel into key positions. The American effort in China was now threatened by the success of the Japanese ICHIGO offensive. Enemy forces were moving to close key airfields in southern China and displace the American Z-Force training center at Guilin. Chinese forces designated for training by American advisors were required immediately for combat operations before they were properly prepared. In addition to working with Jiang to prepare and deploy Chinese units to defend key areas of southwestern China, Wedemeyer had

also inherited command over several important ancillary American military and paramilitary efforts in China. The advisory mission was a part of, and influenced by, a significant number of supporting American activities in China.

The scope of responsibility inherited by Wedemeyer is outlined in a section of Stilwell's classified history of CBI under the heading "AMERICAN MILITARY ORGANIZATIONS IN CHINA OVER WHICH THE THEATRE COMMAND HAS PARTIAL CONTROL OR WITH WHOM LIAISON AND COORDINATION IS MAINTAINED,"[31] he lists the following ten organizations that were within his purview:

1. American Embassy including Military and Naval Attachés.
2. Naval Observer Group (Commodore Miles).
3. XX [U.S Twentieth] Bomber Command.
4. Office of Strategic Services.
5. Joint Intelligence Collecting Agency.
6. Foreign Economic Administration.
7. Office of War Information.
8. American Publications Service.
9. Lend Lease
10. American Red Cross

Despite the breadth of responsibility across these American organizations with missions in China, Wedemeyer's first problem was dealing with the Nationalist Army weakness and the ongoing Japanese offensive. Wedemeyer's initial assessment called for revising plans, reorganizing staffs and putting new and capable people in place. The situation also required a period to build personal relationship at the highest levels of the Chinese military. By the fall of

1944, there were over two hundred thousand American troops on the ground in China, Burma, and India, with more on the way. Given the changes in the command arrangements in the CBI Theater that were announced concurrently with Stilwell's relief, Wedemeyer immediately sought guidance from Washington on his responsibilities and command prerogatives. This was especially true for the various American intelligence organizations and missions in China. Wedemeyer had inherited a complicated and complex patchwork of Allied, American, and Chinese military and civilian programs to command, administer, monitor, or provide liaison elements to that had evolved over the first two and one-half years of the war. Wedemeyer and Stilwell were very different officers in terms of knowledge of China, personality and temperament, and military experience, the result of which would be very different approaches to dealing not only with Jiang, but also with the other American and Allies activities in the theater.

Wedemeyer immediately began the process of putting into place commanders and staff officers he had confidence in and whom he thought could work together to improve the efficiency and effectiveness of the U.S. effort. "In planning to create his own team in China, Wedemeyer asked that Maj. Gen. Thomas G. Hearn, who had been Stilwell's Chief of Staff, and Brig. Gen. Benjamin G. Ferris, who had been Deputy Chief of Staff, be replaced by Maj. Gen Robert B. McClure and Brig. Gen. Thomas S. Timberman, respectively."[32] Those officers that had been very close to Stilwell, whose relationship and view of Wedemeyer was neither close, nor in all cases favorable, were immediately suspect as the type of staff officers and commanders that Wedemeyer wanted working for him as he reorganized the effort and rebuilt frayed relationships with the Chinese. His relationship with now Brigadier General Frank Dorn, who had been an especially trusted commander and staff officer for Stilwell, became particularly strained over the next several months.

Dorn was responsible for training and providing the American liaison teams to Y-Force that had a significant number of forces fighting in northern Burma when the reorganization of the CBI started.

> Member of the Y-Force Operations Staff and Z-Force, American military missions to China, recently redesignated as the Chinese Training and Combat Command, aided the Chinese in two major military operations in the closing months of 1944. They saw the successful culmination of the Salween [Burma] Campaign to make possible the reopening of the Burma Road and they helped establish the Eastern Front in China to protect Kweiyang [Guiyang], strategically located city on the Kunming-Chungking [Chongqing] road, from Jap attack.
>
> Establishment of the China Theater of Operations on 25 Oct 1944 by War Dept. Order (1), was followed on 17 Nov 1944 by the disbanding of the U.S. Army Y-Forces and Z-Forces in China and the re-designation as the Chinese Training and Combat Command of these forces functioning within the geographical limits of the China Theater. Brigadier General Frank Dorn was announced as Commanding General of Chinese Training and Combat Command.[33]

Between December of 1944 and January 1945, in a series of letters, reports, and memorandum, Dorn indirectly called for Wedemeyer to step up the pressure on Jiang to relieve senior Chinese commanders and give more authority to American advisors by providing more leverage over supplies and equipment being provided. Wedemeyer disagreed with Dorn and wanted to separate the training and combat activities that Dorn believed were inseparable functions of command. In a 27 December 1944 Memorandum to Dorn, Wedemeyer laid out his reorganization plan, which also called for a reduction of American personnel to be assigned as liaison officers when Dorn had recently asked for an increase.[34] A 3 January 1945 letter from Wedemeyer to Dorn clearly showed there was a significant disagreement in methods of dealing with the Chinese between the two officers.

> Your note just arrived. I am recuping (sic) after a minor operation and therefore will not be able to see you personally for a few days. General McClure will clarify I hope my plans for reorganization. I must state categorically that I disagree with you and many of the premises embodied in your letter. I am going to separate the Training and Combat Commands. The idea that training is a command function is a cliché to which one might become a slave. Further, I do not feel that the training of recruits,

> replacements and that invisaged (sic) in the various schools, Infantry, Artillery, and General Staff, should be under the same commander. It is just too much for one man to handle. Of course, they are related and they will be carefully coordinated by my headquarters to insure that training is in consonance with combat requirements. [35]

The last line of this letter is very specific in providing guidance to Dorn. "...I have carefully considered all the factors which you have mentioned and have definitely concluded that the plan for reorganization which General McClure will explain is my desire and will be fully implemented as rapidly as possible."[36]

Wedemeyer discounted the advice of a seasoned commander and combat advisor whose forces were currently deployed, fighting well, and taking the fight to the Japanese for the first time. The month before Wedemeyer took over the China theater in a September 1944 letter to Stilwell, Dorn had outlines his views on over thirty Chinese Group Army, Army, and Division commanders in the Chinese Expeditionary Army. His desire to replace, demote, and cashier Chinese officers was very clearly outlined. Dorn's comments are brutally frank and the vast majority were negative. Below are the comments on just the first three entries, a Group Army Commander, an Army Commander, and a Division Commander, as examples of Dorn's assessments. There are very few favorable remarks on senior Chinese commanders in this document. What is also obvious is that Dorn knew these officers and he and his advisors were working around their shortcomings.

> IX Group Army -- Sung Hsi-lien -- professional hero, personally courageous, but a moral coward, one of the really rich generals (made largely during the past two years in Yunnan), plays favorites and military business associates, makes false reports to cover himself, and militarily does not know what he is doing. Might make a good regimental commander.
>
> 6th Army -- Huang Chieh -- Not even interested in his troops, rarely spends any time with them, spending most of his time in Kunming, famous as a Mah Jong player which is about all he does. One of the stupidest and most incompetent of the lot.
>
> New 39th Div -- Hung Hsing -- Looks good, but is not. Very friendly to Americans, but refused to cross the Salween with his troops in the early part of operation

until Americans crossed and thus forced him to do so. Wanted to wear civilian clothes, so he would be safe. He improved some later, but is no commander.[37]

Dorn, like his mentor Stilwell, was obviously not about to mince words about problems in the Chinese forces under his control or the leadership to which they were subjected. The ability to speak in detail about virtually all of the Chinese officers in the CEF would only seem to be possible with a strong effort to have the information communicated from the American advisors and liaison officers in the field. Jiang's desire to limit the number of his units with American liaison elements may also be a function of minimizing the embarrassment of keeping so many bad officers. There is no reason to believe what was evident to the advisors supporting these units was any different in Chinese leadership in the more than 300 divisions that did not have American advisors. Given this lack of support and understanding of the most experienced American field advisor, it was not long before the relationship between Dorn and Wedemeyer further deteriorated. In a 25th of January 1945, "Efficiency Report on a General Officer" for Brigadier General Dorn, Wedemeyer makes the following comments after rating his manner of performance as "Excellent."

"i. Does he render willing and generous support to the plans of his superiors regardless of his personal views in the matter: No.

j. Of all the general officers personally known to me, I would place in 499 of 500.

k. Remark: This officer is bright, clever, and decisive. He is of questionable loyalty, uncooperative, extremely selfish, of immature judgment, and not dependable"[38]

This report set the tone between the senior commander and one of his key subordinate engaged in combat at a critical field headquarters. This relationship and the underlying issues behind it can be viewed as both a clash of strong personalities and resistance to a change in approach. Dorn was not successful in making his new superior officer understand the situation

on the ground in terms of the relationship of training and advising in combat. The strategist Wedemeyer was looking to the future and the larger effort to train, equip, and support the Nationalist Army beyond the currently planned sixty divisions. Dorn was looking at the tactical problems of fighting the divisions currently in the field with American advisors. One thing is certain; the success of the Allied campaign in Burma had begun to change the flow of equipment and war supplies. The successes in Burma also provided the Chinese confidence in their ability to prevail on the battlefield. His differences with Stilwell holdovers notwithstanding, as the new commander Wedemeyer displayed no lack of confidence and decisiveness in making changes and focusing on future efforts in China.

The American forces now in theater had also grown significantly. Sufficient numbers were now available to maintain the offensive in northern Burma, continue the building of the line of communication from India to China, and support defensive operations in China. However, the numbers of forces directly involved in each of the new theaters and the types of missions and organizations that had to be dealt with by the newly appointed senior American commanders and staffs were significantly different. In addition to leading the American effort in Burma, General Sultan retained the requirement to provide logistical support to U.S. forces in China and maintain the flow of military supplies and equipment for China's forces, in both China and Burma. "In November of 1944, Sultan had a total of 183,920 men" in Ceylon, India, or in Burma fighting, supporting, or building the road and pipeline.[39] In contrast, the number of American forces physically in China, which Stilwell had kept to the absolute minimum to keep the logistical support requirements low, was about 28,000.[40] The breakdowns of forces assigned to Wedemeyer on 30 November 1944 are outlined below:

Organization	Number
Total	27,739
Army Air Forces (less XX Bomber Command and Air Transport Command...	17,723
Air Transport Command	2,257
Theater Troops	5,349
Services of Supply	2,410

The American military personnel serving as advisors with their Chinese ground combat counterparts were a subset of the theater troops. In discussing these numbers and the breakdown of the organizations, Romanus and Sutherland, outline the mission and intention of the U.S. effort that Wedemeyer inherited. The following quote also briefly outlines the status of the two groups of Chinese divisions with supporting headquarters elements and troops of Y-Force and Z-Force being trained, equipped, and advised by American military personnel in China and northern Burma.

> On assuming command, Wedemeyer found in China U.S. personnel from the Army, Navy, and the Army Air Forces. (Chart 2) Some were engaged in aerial combat against the Japanese; some were giving logistical support to the U.S. air force units and to the other Americans; some were trying to train and advise the Chinese armies; some were gathering intelligence. There were no U.S. ground combat units, for the U.S. effort in China had always been intended by the War Department to help Chinese defend themselves, to which end the War Department and the Joint Chiefs had been willing to give advice and technical support...Most of them were meant to act as technicians or instructors, and so the number of higher commissioned ranks and enlisted grades made China theater top-heavy in rank...
>
> Those ground force men who had been training and advising the Chinese had been divided among the operational staff working with the American sponsored divisions in Yunnan Province (Y-Force Operations Staff or Y-FOS) and those doing similar work in east China with the Z-Force divisions. The Japanese occupation of east China disrupted the Z-Force; a rearrangement of U.S. troops on the Z-Force Operational Staff (Z-FOS) was clearly necessary.[41]

Colonel F.W. Boye, who served as an advisor to a Chinese Army Group in the newly reorganized Chinese Combat Command (Wedemeyer did in fact in early 1945 separate the training and combat functions into two distinct commands), provides a first person account of one of those "ground force men" as Wedemeyer took charge. Boye served with the Third Army Group of the Central sector in Guiyang in Guizhou Province situated between Chongqing and Kunming.[42] Boye begins his account with a brief description of how the Chinese and Americans dealt with the Japanese offensive. The Japanese, who had been moving south seizing and securing the rail and road lines, had been stopped in eastern Guizhou Province as "American OSS teams, operating with Chinese delaying columns, had blown bridges and roads sky high with American explosives."[43] Among the forces in the area that were being reorganized and trained for future operations was the Third Group Army that consisted of the 13th, 71st, and 94th Armies that each had three subordinate divisions. Each Army had approximately 60 Americans (30 officers and 30 noncommissioned officers) who were "integrated with the Chinese command and staff and conducted the training."[44]

In describing some of the idiosyncrasies of working with the Chinese and political command influence, Boye discusses a unique Chinese workaround for deactivating a division where the unit selected by higher headquarters was not actually deactivated for local political and military reasons. "After much thought and fruitless effort to get the high command to change its decision the Marshal [Tang En-po, an officer sent to the province to command its defense] applied a simple solution to the problem by changing the names of the two divisions and then effecting the deactivation. Let no General try that in the U.S. Army?"[45] His comments supporting the decision in the field, indicates the independent nature and power of subordinate regional commanders. In areas where their units are involved, they could, and did, ignore or manipulate

the national military leadership. After briefly discussing the heroic effort to get more supplies and equipment through Burma and moved forward in China to his unit, Boye states that the training finally began in January of 1945. "The initial period of our instructor schools, followed by individual and small unit training presented few difficulties. Our prestige was high and the interest was keen."[46] At the tactical level, division and below, what the Americans offered was both appreciated and needed. The manipulation of the system by the Chinese to keep the better unit is also indicative of the recognition and desire of some of the Chinese officers to make military rather than political decisions.

At the division level, the "training areas were very extensive due to the fact that the Chinese billet their troops in all the houses and buildings in the entire area...Billeting was accomplished without complaint. The owners or tenants simply crowded their families into smaller quarters and appeared to enjoy having the soldiers in their midst."[47] In terms of training, Boye offers that all instruction had to be done through interpreters and highlights the fact that, "There are twenty-eight Chinese different dialects employed in China and it is not uncommon to find Chinese who cannot understand each other."[48] He also reconfirmed what Boatner had indicated back in Ramgarh in 1942 during the training of the first two Nationalist divisions. The Chinese soldiers appreciated education and technical training. "It was through our school system that a large part of American influence had been built initially."[49] He then talks about challenges directly related to the unique circumstances and the often-innovative local solutions to providing instruction in the areas of field artillery, military engineering, signal, and medical training. While American doctors and field hospitals accompanied the training teams, a "research and development hospital in Kweiyang [Guiyang]" provided Chinese physicians of high quality. Boye also indicates that three American Evacuation Hospitals were "pushed forward" to work

alongside their Chinese counterparts. Again, as at Ramgarh when the Chinese soldiers retreated from Burma, for some, this was the first real medical care these soldiers had ever received.[50] The American advisors controlled several key levers, especially at the tactical level, to influence the effort to build competent and capable combat forces.

American military medical support was especially important in this theater and started from very humble and unique beginnings. A protestant medical missionary, Gordon S. Seagrave, himself the son of American missionaries who had worked in Burma, was practicing at Namkham in the Shan State in northern Burma when the war began. Caught up in the initial 1942 battle for Burma he assisted Chennault's American Volunteer Group and then served with elements of the Chinese 6th Army. He eventually received a direct commission in the U.S. Army and served as General Stilwell's command surgeon during the difficult retreat. Over the next two years, he became a close personal friend of Stilwell's and a key staff asset for the medical planning of the Allied effort to retake Burma. A passage from his book, *Burma Surgeon*, published in 1943, illustrates both his enthusiasm for his work and his unique contribution to the American effort.

> Was I, perhaps, to be permitted to do some little bit that would help the America I loved and called my own even though most of my life had been spent in a foreign country? If so, all the misery I had gone through would have been worthwhile, for as a result of it, I was the only American doctor in the world who had under his command a group of nurses that could speak Chinese and all the languages of Burma; nurses who had been so trained that they enjoyed nothing so much of hard work and emergencies of all sorts; nurses who fought and went on strike if they were not chosen for the hardest and most dangerous of tasks; nurses who looked upon anything calling himself an American as a sort of tin god! God! Was there a real place for us in this damnable war after all?[51]

Seagrave eagerly sought to move from his position as a medical missionary in what would now be called a Non-governmental organization (NGO) to a key position as a U.S. military officer. Given the exigencies of the wartime situation in Burma in 1942, he was able to

do just that with a minimum of administrative red tape, and serve at exactly the right time and place where he was needed. Over the period of American support, the medical advice and assistance provided to the Chinese, by the thousands of American, Allied and contract doctors, nurses, corpsmen, technicians and ambulance drivers would play a critical role in raising and maintaining the moral of the Chinese fighting forces and the supporting American military personnel sent to work with them in this very active combat zone with an unusually unhealthy climate. Both the Americans and the Chinese showed an ability to improvise and make do which is especially critical in the area of supplying military units both in training and in combat.

Boye also discussed the problem of logistics and supporting a Chinese Army-level organization in combat. Logistics, and especially the transportation and movement of food and ammunition, are critical factors in creating a modern military capable of conducting a mobile defense and massing for offensive operations. The situation on the ground in southwestern China called for unique solutions. "From an American point of view it was logistically impossible to move and supply any Chinese Army in combat."[52] Once again, initiative and innovation are mentioned as keys to overcoming serious deficiencies. Despite poor roads, destroyed bridges, lack of vehicles and spare parts, no organized transportation units, and the lack of fuel for those trucks they did have, Chinese combat units did move on the battlefield. With improvisation, a variety of vehicles running on virtually any type of fuel available, heavily loaded troops, and ad hoc porter units together made up for the lack of truck and animal transportation companies called for in the tables of organization of the various units.

While the majority of the Army Group he was assigned to was not committed to combat until the summer of 1945, the 94th Army stopped its training program in March of 1945. The unit was moved forward to counter a Japanese attack "where they hoped to destroy our last

remaining eastern airfield" and, according to Boye, acquitted itself very well against the Japanese.[53] Boye's experience is instructive on what the American advisors and trainers encountered and what they did to carry out their mission while the Chinese forces were reacting to and making do in what the Chinese saw as normal and the Americans as an emergency situation. Again, his experience was in units with American advisors with access to training, support and advise. This was not the norm in the Nationalist Army as a whole.

The dangerous and sometimes unique situations under which the American advisors like Boye served is highlighted in a "Historical Report of Chinese Training and Combat Command" for the period 25 Oct 1944 to 31 Dec 1944. The date on the document is 1 January 1944 (the date is typed incorrectly on the document and should read 1945).

> In addition to the Americans still with the Chinese on the Salween and on the Eastern Front, there are Americans of CT&CC operating behind Japanese lines under Colonel Wood King in the 9th War Zone at Chienhsien [Jianshen]. Another group under Colonel Harry M. Spengler is in the 10th War Zone, with headquarters at Chihkiang [Zhijiang]. Still another is operating in the 4th War Zone under Colonel Harwood C. Bowman at Poseh [Bosi].[54]

The focus of American advisor support was to those Chinese units that could more easily be moved into Burma, or could be readily shifted to secure Kunming or Chongqing, or potentially safeguard or retake key Allied airfields (the 60 divisions and upper level headquarters of the Y- and Z- Forces). This effort was never intended to be expanded to the entire Nationalist Army. The Americans wanted to reduce the overall number of Chinese divisions, but to make sure these were well trained and equipped. These sixty divisions also bounded Jiang's potential political liabilities to a relatively small and not very politically or economically important area of China. The area was significant to his American partners and their focus on fighting the Japanese first to open up Burma and then moving to eastern coastal ports. As he had done with the Russian and

German advisors in the 1920s and 1930s, Jiang kept the American effort within certain parameters.

Evaluating the Effort

The situation in China in early 1945 is also addressed in three documents that were prepared for President Roosevelt in January and February. Roosevelt sent Democratic Congressman Mike Mansfield from Montana on a fact-finding mission to China, Burma, and India in November and December 1944. Mansfield was the latest of the trusted agents that Roosevelt had sent to China to give him a different perspective on the situation. In 1941, he had sent Lauchin Currie whose report indirectly led to Magruder's appointment to oversee lend lease. In 1944, he sent his Vice President Henry A. Wallace, and then Major General Patrick J. Hurley, to assess the situation and make recommendations. Special personal emissaries or observers, often with close political connections to the President, were a vehicle that Roosevelt found useful at key times to assess or clarify the situation or send a personal message. Mansfield's report to the President is dated January 3, 1945. In late February 1945, General Marshall forwarded two letters to Roosevelt, one from Sultan, and the second from Wedemeyer surveying the situation on the ground in their two areas of responsibility. These two reports generally reinforce Manfield's observations. Below are extended excerpts from Mansfield's report that not only provided information on what Roosevelt was being told, but also showed the uniformity of American assessments of Jiang, the situation in China and the military predicament at that time.

One of Stilwell's most loyal supporters, now Major General Frank Merrill who had commanded the 5307th (Marauders) in northern Burma met Mansfield in New Delhi. He immediately impressed on the congressional representative "that the Chinese soldier was very good, if he was given enough to eat, the proper training, adequate material, and competent

leadership. In his opinion, much of the difficulties of the Chinese armies could be laid to the incompetency of the field commanders."[55] Merrill then discussed the success of British forces and the increase of supplies now being flown over the Hump. Mansfield then was given the opportunity to go to Ledo and travel by military vehicle over the newly built road to Myitkyina. In Ledo he visited the U.S. 20th General Hospital and favorably commented on the facility with its "155 nurses, 80 doctors, and several hundred corpsmen." This is the first of several comments praising the American medical effort in India and Burma. "In visiting eight hospitals along the Road, I found that the work being done in all of them was outstanding."[56] These hospitals treated both American and Chinese combat and support forces.

Once in Burma he had the opportunity at Moguang to meet with two of the Chinese Army commanders.

> I had the chance to visit General Liao Yao-hsiang [Liao Yaoshang] of the Chinese 6th Army and his American liaison officer, Colonel Philipp. General Liao Yao-hsiang, with his 6th and Lieutenant General Sun Li-jen [Sun Liren was the VMI graduate who had brought his division to Ramgarh in 1942] of the 1st, were both doing a grand job to the south of the Road and the reason that these two armies had the respect and confidence of the American military was because they were well-fed, well-trained, well-equipped, and well-led. I arrived in Myitkyina that same afternoon and had dinner with Lieutenant General Daniel I. Sultan that evening...His objectives were (1) to open the road to China by means of Burma and (2) get supplies to China.[57]

These two combat experienced Chinese Armies and their subordinate units had been refitted Ramgarh. Where the American effort could control and concentrate on the advise and assist mission the results were truly impressive, but that is not to say problems still did not exist or that Chinese units were "Americanized."

While at Myitkyina, Mansfield observed the loading of planes headed to China. He also made the following observation:

> The British also clothe the troops of the 1st and 6th Chinese armies but we furnish them with arms. When food is dropped, American liaison personnel attached to

> the Chinese armies are there to see that the food is evenly distributed to all concerned. This is very important because otherwise, some of the soldiers would have to do without and the result would be impaired efficiency as is the case so often in China itself.[58]

The implication of this quote is that after more than two years of war, and within the most successful American training program, the Chinese leaders, and their supporting logistics formations still could not be trusted to effectively and efficiently feed their own combat troops. The situation was without a doubt worse in China where there were not enough American liaison officers. In addition, in China, they supplied the food, in India and Burma the food was funded and supplied by the British or Americans where this type of leverage could be applied. At his next stop, the Congressman received a slightly different appraisal and suggestion for how material given to the Chinese was handled. Mansfield flew over the Hump to Kunming and met with Chennault. "He expressed great confidence in the Chinese and said they should have their own leadership, but that lend-lease should be given direct to Jiang under the supervision of Wedemeyer."[59] Chennault had a much different situation in terms of the numbers of officers and men he had to train for the Chinese Air Force (CAF) and a significantly reduced number of locations where American and Chinese pilots and airmen were working together.

Chennault then discussed the number of Japanese being tied down in China, the status of the air effort, and his view that the Japanese were moving their heavy industry to the Chinese mainland, which would necessitate an Allied landing on the China coast. Chennault's remark to Mansfield and his assessment on the Communists was also interesting. "He [Chennault] rates them highly, and declares there is no connection between them and Russia, a conclusion that was borne out in my conversations during the rest of my stay in China. He is, however, sympathetic to Chiang Kai-shek in his dealings with the Communists and thinks he is the one man who symbolizes an aggressive China."[60] The difference in strategies to fight the Japanese between

Chennault and first Stilwell and now Wedemeyer continue to concentrate on an air centric strategy versus building a competent ground force. The young, technically oriented air wing was not a politically significant element in the Nationalist forces, and therefore, much less a threat to Jiang's leadership.

In the next section of the report, Mansfield discussed his meeting with Major General G.X. Cheves, the Service of Supply (SOS) Officer in the China Theater. He learned that 90 percent of the food and building materials being used by U.S, forces in China were being supplied by the Chinese. After making comments on the handling of food and corruption in the Chinese army officer corps, he offered the following non-sequitur. "When I started on this trip I thought that the Chinese problem was supply, but now I am beginning to think it is cooperation among the Chinese themselves and that this has always been the case. Conditions in China are really bad."[61] Corruption and malfeasance in the officer corps are symptoms of an army that is not centrally controlled and in which there is a lack of unity of command. Mansfield's report then makes a very telling remark. "The American military are not too optimistic but are trying to hide their feelings."[62]

His next meeting was with Wedemeyer with whom he was "favorably impressed." Mansfield saw firsthand the importance of the political situation and the regional imperatives within the Nationalist government and military that Jiang had to take into account in making personnel decisions. Wedemeyer fully understood and took into account Jiang's difficult situation.

> He [Wedemeyer] recognizes the gravity of the situation. He is not fooling himself. He isn't underestimating the abilities of the Japanese nor is he over-estimating the fighting qualities of the Chinese. He wanted to get General Chen Cheng as his field commander against the Japanese, but the Generalissimo appointed Chen Cheng as his Minister of War instead and gave Wedemeyer Hoh Ying-chin [He Yingqin] as his field commander. While this did not look so good at the time, it very likely was a shrewd

> move, because Hoh Ying-chin is the Kweichow [Guizhou] warlord and consequently will fight harder to save his province. Hoh Ying-chin, now Chief of Staff of the Chinese Army and Commander of forces in Kweichow and Kwansi [Guangxi] is a political general. He is anti-communist and has fought a Communist-Kuomintang rapprochement. While he is no longer the Minister of War he is still in a powerful position and is still a key figure in future Chinese policies and politics.[63]

Mansfield's next meeting was with Major General Hurley, soon to be announced as the U.S. Ambassador to China. According to Mansfield, he "informed me that the United States objectives were to (1) keep China from collapsing and (2) to unify, replenish and regroup Chinese military forces for the purpose of carrying out the struggle and thereby saving American lives."[64] Manfield's next comments are on the Communists that Hurley was attempting to work with to bring about a revitalized effort toward a united front to fight the Japanese. Hurley's initial progress and his abrupt resignation presaged the Marshall Mission and the disparate views of what to do about China after the war with Japan. The freedom of movement of Mansfield within the theater was also indicative of the progress in the war. The Japanese were decisively defeated in northern Burma, the line of communication was open and secure, and Chongqing and Kunming were protected. Over the next several months, the situation would continue to improve and after nearly three years of effort, Chinese forces were poised to move to the offensive in their own country.

The Alpha Divisions, Chinese Combat Command, & the Mars Task Force

Wedemeyer quickly began the reorganization of the theater enlarging the headquarters in Chongqing to better support Jiang and the Nationalist military leadership. He also had a forward headquarters established in Kunming that was the key location for the training effort in China and the terminus for the line of communications through Burma and India. In addition, from late 1944 through early 1945, he made a series of changes to implement a plan he outlined in Kunming in December of 1944. He provided the following simple guidance and clear priorities:

"(1) combat, in which the Americans would come very close to operational control; (2) training, which they would completely supervise; (3) supply, where Americans would be present at every level."[65] In January 1945, Wedemeyer re-designated Chinese Training and Combat Command the Chinese Combat Command (CCC). The Y- and Z-Force units were combined and thereafter were known as the Alpha divisions or ALPHA Force. The central focus of the American advisory effort was the potentially available sixty divisions of this newly re-designated force.

In early 1945, an American ground combat unit was prepared for movement into China to train with, and potentially fight alongside, the new Alpha units.[66] The remnants of Merrill's Marauders were withdraw from combat and reorganized with replacement personnel as the 475th Infantry Regiment. Along with the newly arrived 124th Cavalry Regiment of the Texas National Guard a new unit, the 5332nd Brigade (Provisional) also known as the Mars Task Force, was formed under the command of Brigadier General Thomas S. Arms. Stilwell's original concept for this unit was for it to be organized and equipped as a light division with a Chinese regiment attached.[67] This model of combined operational forces had already proven itself in Chennault's program for integrated air units called the Chinese-American Composite Wings that had been established very early in the war.[68]

The concept of combined units, embedded advisors, and providing key supporting elements allowed the Americans to lead, train, and operate by example reducing deficiencies, building confidence, and technical capabilities in their counterpart Chinese forces. Providing the same forward medical care and evacuation for all deployed forces also significantly improved the morale of the Chinese forces. The Americans were able to provide technical expertise for the modern weapons and equipment provided that was not yet resident in sufficient numbers in the Nationalist Army. The tank and artillery battalions, raised at Ramgarh and that served in Burma,

included significant American advisory and maintenance support.[69] While not particularly well suited for use in the jungles of Burma, there were areas of that country where tanks supporting the infantry were a key capability. The tanks were a symbol of a modern military and would also be useful when the fighting moved into China.

As has been covered earlier, when Wedemeyer assumed his position in China, a decision was made to take the opportunity to divide the China-Burma-India Theater. However, the fighting was not over in Burma and the timing for the redeployment of Chinese and American units and advisors to China was problematic. The newly constituted Mars Task Force was committed in October of 1944 to operations in northern Burma and remained there until March 1945 when it was finally moved to China. This force was the first American ground combat force actually deployed to China. However, the justification for its movement to China was a "most urgent need of all was for remainder of 475th U.S. Infantry Regiment to be transferred to China to start training and reorganizing Chinese divisions about to be re-equipped."[70] The history of this American unit is provided in *Marsmen in Burma* by John Randolph published in 1949.

The movement of an American ground combat force to China was somewhat controversial as the British wanted to maintain this unit under their command for ongoing operations in Burma. The elevation of the decision to move one light infantry brigade to the level of the Joint Chiefs of Staff in Washington is indicative of both continued Allied coordination problems in theater and the lack of sufficient assets on the ground in Burma given the mission and the enemy threat assessments. The interlocking issues of committing, deploying and moving forces is indicated in the following quotation: "The British Chiefs of Staff have now agreed to the immediate transfer of the Mars Brigade provided that transport aircraft to move it are provided without prejudicing the operations in NCAC [Northern Combat Area Command] and of

the 14th Army now in progress."[71] While officially separated, the China theater was still inextricable linked to operations and logistical lines in Burma and India, and would remain so until such time that ports on the China coast were recaptured from the Japanese, secured and reopened.

The Japanese continued to hold areas of southern Burma until August of 1945. However, with the control of northern and central Burma by early 1945, the route that became known as the Stilwell Road from India to China was finally opened and greater amounts of war materials began to flow into China. The first supply convoy arrived in Kunming in February of 1945.[72] The logjam of lend-lease supplies in India could now flow to training locations in southern China. The long awaited effort to rebuild the Nationalist Army could begin in earnest. However, the control of those supplies, their allocation, and distribution continued to be an issue between Wedemeyer, Chennault, and Jiang. Predictably, the Allied successes also began to facilitate Hump resupply operations and threaten the enemy's hold on Burma; the Japanese reacted by pushing further south into China.[73]

The Japanese Operation Ichigo had begun back in April of 1944. Among the objectives of Japan's first major offensive against the Nationalists since 1941 was the prevention of the use of key American bomber and supply airfields in southern China. Another key objective was to mitigate the growing threat to its sea lines of communications in the western Pacific and the South China Sea. If successful this offensive would link the widely dispersed Japanese ground force headquarters, secure a land supply line from Korea to Vietnam, and place significant numbers of ground forces in southwestern China. This threat provided the possibility to take China out of the war. If the Japanese moved west instead of southwest toward Hanoi, they would threaten the logistics hub at Kunming and put at risk the wartime capital at Chongqing.[74]

This Japanese threat to Kunming and Chongqing and the poor performance of the Chinese forces that had not received American equipment, training, and advisors provide an opportunity for Wedemeyer. In addition, the loss of some key eastern airfields cast doubt on the viability of an air-centric strategy without a ground centric component. On the positive side, the opening up of the supply line from Burma, greater tonnages flown over the Hump, and the increased effectiveness of the Chennault's 14th Air Force in attacking facilities that were critical to maintaining the Japanese offensive were also significant factors in the changing situation on the ground. To take advantage of this threat and opportunity Wedemeyer proposed a phased comprehensive operational plan to amass, train, and equip forces. They would first defend, and then move to the offensive against the Japanese in southern China. With the extensive help of American forces in staffing and advising, this plan held promise. He held a series of meetings with Jiang and presented his plan that would involve the Chinese Alpha units in southwestern China. After extensive negotiations, Jiang decided to allow the United States to train, equip, and provide liaison elements to thirty-nine divisions to be called the Alpha Force. This force would include the units in Burma when they could be redeployed to China, and selected divisions of the rest of the Y and Z forces.[75]

Wedemeyer's decision to split the Chinese Training and Combat Command also created the opportunity to put his chosen American commanders and key staff officers in place. He established a small forward planning group in Chongqing and a larger headquarters was collocated with the key training and logistics sites at Kunming. He selected Major General Robert McClure to replace Dorn to command Chinese Combat Command and set up a liaison system from regimental level all the way to the national level. McClure "summed up the program for reform of the Chinese Army in five steps: 1. Feed; 2. Arm and equip; 3. Train; 4. Lead well;

and, 5. Indoctrinate.[76] In order to implement this program there had to be advisors on the ground with their Chinese counterparts in significant numbers. He intended to have the liaison officers down to regimental level in order to provide leverage over the newly arriving equipment and supplies. In the Center for Military History's *China Offensive,* Theresa L. Kraus briefly summaries the support to be provided:

> Personnel shortages prevented the system from being extended to the regimental level, but eventually all 36 divisions, 12 armies, and 4 group armies of the ALPHA Force received American advisors and liaison personnel, some 3,100 soldiers and airman, all linked by radio. Each advisory team had about twenty-five officers and fifty enlisted men, picked from different arms and services so that qualified technicians from ordnance, logistics, and engineer specialties would be available to help the Chinese. Advisers also furnished technical assistance to the Chinese handling artillery and communications, and American medical personnel worked with Chinese medics, nurses, and doctors that generally lacked formal training. Each advisory team also has an air-ground liaison section, operating its own radio net to provide air support. At the unit level, the American adviser accompanied Chinese forces in the field, supervised local training as best they could and work with Chinese commanders on plans and tactical operations. In no case were the Americans in command, and their influence depended primarily on their own expertise and the willingness of the Chinese commanders to accept foreign advice.[77]

To support this operational force to oppose the Japanese, Wedemeyer also selected Brigadier General John W. Middleton to command the Chinese Training Command to step up the training and preparation of the Chinese divisions. The model was very much like what the Americans had done at Ramgarh on a smaller scale. He was now able to enhance the system established earlier in Kunming under Stilwell's direction.

The seven operating centers and schools were improved and enlarged. Chinese fire support as a key area of emphasis and "at its peak some one thousand Americans were instructing ten thousand Chinese on the use of American supplied artillery.[78] Wedemeyer also wanted to improve and expand opportunities for Chinese officer education with a war college and command staff school that would improve direction and planning below regimental level.

The need for interpreters was growing and a school to improve the English skills of those Chinese assigned for that duty was established.[79] The improvements to technical schools and combat training were an area where there was general agreement between the Chinese and their American counterparts. Despite the improvements, allowing Americans to command Chinese forces in the field remained a step too far for Jiang and the Nationalist military leadership.

One of the prerogatives of command is the freedom to redeploy forces. In terms of Wedemeyer's larger plan to be carried out by the Alpha Force, the central focus was to prepare this large Chinese force, first to defend Kunming, and ultimately to strike east to the China coast. The major problem area was convincing Jiang to move Chinese forces from their normal operating areas to mass for defensive or offensive operations. The authority of command of Chinese forces in the battle area was also problematic. Jiang and the senior military leadership did not accept the idea that tactical forces in contact with the enemy in forward locations could not be successfully and efficiently commanded from the headquarters in Chongqing. The American advisors continued to advocate for field commanders to be allowed to fight the battles. Unlike Stilwell with his ultimatums and condescending attitude, in the Plan Alpha negotiations, Wedemeyer and his staff were able to attain a measure of success. However, there were lines that Jiang would not cross although there continued to be "a blend of progress, passive acceptance, inertia, and outright rejection."[80]

Even with the new level of American support and Wedemeyer's desire to increase the number of Chinese divisions being trained, this effort only reached 39 of the more than three hundred division in the Chinese Army.[81] The divisions trained in India at Ramgarh and the Y-Force units trained by Dorn, properly equipped and supplied, had proven capable of defeating the Japanese. By the spring of 1945, even with the less than optimal number of forces there was a

reasonable expectation that a successful defense of the key approaches to Kunming and Chongqing could be mounted. However, the Japanese decided not to continue their offensive into southwestern China. Two of the Ramgarh units, the Mars Force, and Y-Force units that had been engaged in Burma were brought back to China. A force capable of offensive operations in China was now being assembled.

During the first three months of 1945, events related to the American efforts in the Pacific changed the Japanese strategy in China. The Allied attack on Okinawa in April, and the end of the war in Europe in May, played into the Japanese decision to not mount a full offensive in southern China. Instead, the IJA slowly retrograded their forces to the east to prepare to defend the China coast and northeast China. Nevertheless, the Japanese forces continued to maintain significant capabilities in the southwest and continued limited offensives to deny the use of key airfields. However, the threat to Kunming and Jiang's governmental capital at Chongqing had ended. Wedemeyer, the strategic war planner, presented a campaign concept to Jiang in February to take advantage of the Japanese decision to withdraw. This time Jiang was less reticent and planning for the organizational changes in training, the make-up of the combat forces and logistical units, and increasing the number of American military advisors moved forward.[82]

In April through June of 1945 the Nationalist forces, with units recently redeployed from Burma and newly trained and reorganized elements of Alpha Force with its American advisers, conducted a campaign against the Japanese at Chihchiang (Zhijiang). Although the Chinese suffered significantly more casualties than they inflicted:

> The Chihchiang campaign demonstrated that Chinese troops could successfully face the Japanese if they had sufficient strength, coordinated their movements and actions, and received a steady supply of food and ammunition. By aggressive

> maneuvering, the Chinese had outflanked a determined foe and forced its retreat. Wedemeyer's ALPHA Force, whatever its shortcomings, had proved its worth.[83]

As the Japanese began to withdraw to the east the Chinese army, supported by General Sultan's newly available logistics capabilities in the now quieter Burma-India Theater, offered the Allies the capability of large-scale Chinese offensive operations to regain lost territory. The American program to improve Chinese ground forces was finally a reality in terms of the long envisioned successes on battlefields within China.

In addition, the Tenth Air Force that had been in India was now available for employment in China alongside Chennault's Fourteenth Air Force. An Army Air Forces China Theater headquarters commanded by Lieutenant General George E. Stratemeyer was established. This effort significantly increased the American capability to support their Chinese allies. Coupled with the Japanese movement to the defensive and the withdrawal of some of its forces to the east, there was now an opportunity for an offensive to the China coast. In June and July 1945, Chinese forces were massed for an attack to the coastal areas southwest of Hong Kong. However, before that objective could be reached, the atomic bombs were dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the Soviets attacked into Manchuria, the Japanese capitulated, and the war was over. The Japanese surrender ceremony in China was held in Nanjing on the 9th of September.[84]

With the end of the war, the character and level of support to Jiang and the Nationalist military changed significantly. Ironically, the missions and tasks assigned to the military personnel that remained in China became even more complex. The United States military supported the movement of major elements of Jiang's forces to the eastern part of China to take the surrender of Japanese garrisons and assist in the reoccupation of its territory. There were over four million Japanese military and civilian personnel to be repatriated from China, Manchuria, Taiwan, Hainan, and northern Indochina.[85] As one of the victorious Allies, China was designated

to take the Japanese surrender in Indochina north of the 18th Parallel with the British taking the surrender of Japanese forces in southern Vietnam.[86] The Chinese forces that conducted this mission were accompanied by an American advisory element supervised by Brigadier General Philip E. Gallagher.[87]

In August of 1945, as part of the planning for the occupation of Japan and Korea, representatives from Wedemeyer's headquarters attended a meeting in Manila to work out the plans for the deployment of the III Amphibious Corps (IIIAC) to the China Theater. Ironically, it is after the war with Japan that the China Theater receives its American ground combat corps. The IIIAC with two of its subordinate divisions stayed for over a year in a deployment that became more and more controversial as it role in the repatriation of Japanese became more obviously supportive of the Nationalists in the internal conflict with the Communists. The operations of the approximately fifty thousand Marines in protecting key Chinese ports and ground lines of communication in North China was well covered in official USMC histories. However, the role of the Army advisory personnel who stayed in China after the Japanese surrender to support the negotiations and the Nationalist forces eventually reconstituting a training and advisory mission is much less known.

The most critical immediate post war issue was Chinese Communists control of key areas of eastern and northern China and their demand for a major role in the post war Chinese government and military. This situation was exacerbated by the presence in Manchuria of over one million Soviet troops who on 8 August attacked the Japanese Kwantung Army and quickly moved to consolidate their victory.[88] The American military observer mission that began in August of 1944 with Mao at Yan'an continued briefly under the leadership of David C. Barrett, the experienced China hand and old friend of Stilwell's. He was replaced by Colonel Ivan

Yeaton, a trusted intelligence officer on Wedemeyer's staff. One of the American advisors who served in the mission wrote, "He [Yeaton] had no background on China or the Chinese but styled himself an expert on communism. He apparently saw a secret agent behind every tree and around every corner. In his seven or eight months at Yenan, he never left the environs of the city.[89] The American bias toward the Jiang and the Nationalists is clearly evident in the opening days of the post war period. Yeaton will not be the only official, military or civilian, that will choose sides in the next nearly four years of turmoil and change. The post war period for the military advisors began in a very dynamic environment and with a very different set of missions and tasks.

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[1]Spector, *In the Ruins of Empire*, 27 (see chap.1, n.16).

[2]John D. Plating, *The Hump: America's Strategy For Keeping China in World War II* (College Station, TX: Texas Aandamp; M University Press, 2011), 195.

[3]Sir William Slim, *Defeat Into Victory* (New York: David Mackay, 1962). This book, written by the operational commander, examines the loss and capture of Burma from not only the British perspective, but also the allied effort.

[4]Dorn, *Walkout with Stilwell in Burma*, 10-16 (see chap. 4, n. 14).

[5]Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell's Mission to China*, 75 (see chap. 1, n. 7).

[6]Geoffrey Perret, *Old Soldiers Never Die: The Life of Douglas Macarthur* (Holbrook, MA: Adam Media Corporation, 1996), 292-300. Chapter 17 outlines the beginnings of the planning for MacArthur's campaign to retake the Philippines from bases in Australia and New Zealand.

[7]Taylor, *Generalissimo,* 224-225 (see chap. 2, n. 53).

[8]Romanus and Sunderland. *Stillwell's Command Problem* (see chap. 1, n. 8). This official U.S. Army history provides a thorough and detailed examination of the campaign to retake Burma and the Allied bickering over its timing and forces to be employed.

[9]Carl Warren Weidenburner, *Air Commandos China-Burma-India Theater of World War II*, http://cbi-theater-1.home.comcast.net/~cbi-theater-1/air_commandos/aircommandos.html (29 March 2008).

[10]Shelford Bidwell, *The Chindit War: Stilwell, Wingate, and the Campaign in Burma, 1944* (London: Book Club Associates, 1979), 26-27. Churchill was so enamored by the concept he had Wingate accompany him to the Quandrant Summit in Quebec to brief this new type of operation to Roosevelt. The concept was approved and resourced. It was also at this conference that Roosevelt agreed that Lord Louis Mountbatten would assume the leadership for Southeast Asia Command the senior headquarters for the CBI.

[11]Gary J. Bjorge, *Merrill's Marauders: Combined Operations in Northern Burma in 1944*, Combat Studies Institute, Ft. Leavenworth, KS (Washington, DC: U. S. Army Center of Military History, 1996), 45.

[12]Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell's Command Problems.* 119-121.

[13]Ibid., 312.

[14]Ibid., 468-469.

[15]Ibid., Chapter IV "Breaking the Stalemate in North Burma," 119-159.

[16]*Ramgarh: The Story Can Now Be Told,* 5 (see chap. 4, n. 30).

[17]Bjorge, *Merrill's Marauder.* This unit was pushed far beyond its point of physical exhaustion and combat culmination. However, Stilwell felt he needed to make a point to both the Chinese and the British about combat leadership.

[18]Romanus and Sunderland, *Time Runs Out,* 141(see chap. 1, no. 6).

[19]Ibid., 3.

[20]Anton Myrer, *Once an Eagle: With Forward by General John W. Vessey* (New York: Harper Collins, 1968), XVI.

[21]Ibid.

[22]Ibid., 412.

[23]Evans Carlson, Correspondence to and from Carlson to the President on the situation in China, 7 March 1945, Carlson File, FDR Library, Hyde Park, NY.

[24]Myrer, *Once an Eagle*, 610.

[25]Keith E. Eiler, ed., *Wedemeyer On War and Peace* (Stanford, CA: Hoover Institution Press, 1987), 67-69.

[26]Ruth Benedict, *Chrysanthemum and the Sword* (Cambridge, MA: Riverside Press, 1946), 1.

[27]Michael Mansfield, Military Mission to China, Mansfield Report to the President, 3 January 1945, p.3, Official File 150d, Box 4, FDR Library. Hyde Park, NY.

[28]Albert C. Wedemeyer, *Wedemeyer Reports!* (New York: Henry Holt, 1958). By 1958 Wedemeyer had moved to a position that American policy in China had failed by not fully supporting Jiang and the Nationalists with equipment and other assistance short of deploying American combat troops. From 1944 through 1947, his was much less optimistic about Jiang's chances of success and realistic about the Nationalist military's weaknesses.

[29]Peattie, Drea, and van de Ven, *Battle For China*, 392-393 (see chap. 2, n. 4).

[30]White House Press Release, 31 October 1944, Official File (OF 2629-2669), File 2644, FDR Library, Hyde Park, NY.

[31]Stilwell Papers, CBI History, Box 17-1, Hoover Institute.

[32]Romanus and Sunderland, *Time Runs Out.* 21-22.

[33]Frank Dorn, Memorandum AG 314.7, Historical Report of Chinese Training and Combat Command, 1 January 1944, Dorn Papers, Box 2, File 10, Hoover Institute.

[34]Dorn Papers, Memorandum, Reorganization of Chinese Training and Combat Command, 27 December 1944, Box 2, File 11, Hoover Institute.

[35]Ibid.

[36]Ibid.

[37]Dorn Papers, Memo for General Stilwell, 22 September 1944, Box 1, File 45, Hoover Institute.

[38]Albert C. Wedemeyer, Efficiency Report on General Officer, AG 201.61, 25 January 1945, Dorn Papers, Box 2, File 14, Hoover Institute.

[39]Romanus and Sunderland, *Time Runs Out*, 19.

[40]Ibid.

[41]Ibid., 20-21.

[42]F. W. Boye, "Operating with a Chinese Army Group," *Military Review* 27, no. 2 (May 1947): 4.

[43]Ibid.

[44]Ibid.

[45]Ibid.

[46]Ibid.

[47]Ibid.

[48]Ibid., 6.

[49]Ibid.

[50]Ibid.

[51]Seagrave, *Burma Surgeon Returns*, 176 (see chap. 3, n. 4).

[52]Boye, *Operating with Chinese Army Group*, 7.

[53]Ibid.

[54]Dorn Papers, Memorandum AG 314.7, Historical Report of Chinese Training and Combat Command, 1 January 1944, Box 2, File 10, Hoover Institute.

[55]Mansfield, Mansfield Report to the President, p.4, 3 January 1945, Official File 150d, Box 4, FDR Library.

[56]Ibid., 2-3.

[57]Ibid., 4.

[58]Ibid.

[59]Ibid., 5.

[60]Ibid., 4.

[61]Ibid., 5.

[62]Ibid.

[63]Ibid.

[64]Ibid.

[65]Romanus and Sunderland, *Time Runs Out*, 156.

[66]Ibid., 156-157. The Chinese Training and Combat Command was designated the Chinese Combat Command in January of 1945. Training was not handled by an administrative headquarters and American advisors would focus on the combat mission.

[67]Ibid., 90-91.

[68]Ibid., 172-173.

[69]*Ramgarh: The Story Can Now Be Told*. The training and support provided to Chinese Armored (90-100) and Artillery units (p.69-89) is outlined in major sections of this book.

[70]Message from SACSEA [Supreme Allied Commander, Southeast Asia], 11 March 1945, Military Files, Series 1, #12 China Folder, FDR Library.

[71]War Department Outgoing Message, 20 March 1945, Map Room, MR 310 Plans and Operations, Box 103, FDR Library.

[72]Romanus and Sunderland, *Time Runs Out*, 141.

[73]Peattie, Drea, and van de Ven, *Battle For China*. Chapter 16 of this book summarizes the planning, objectives and outcome of the Japanese offensive. The main objectives were the American airfield and a ground line of communication to Southeast Asia. The Japanese did not have the manpower or logistical reach to drive to either Chongqing or Kunming even if these locations had been primary objectives. Hara Takeshi the author of this chapter argues that the Chinese armies did not perform well and may have lost more than 750,000 troops. He also argues that be depleting the manpower in Manchuria and eastern China, the Communists were the major beneficiaries of this Japanese offensive.

[74]Romanus and Sunderland, *Time Runs Out*, 55-60.

[75]Ibid., 55-60.

[76]Ibid., 66.

[77]Theresa L. Kraus, *China Offensive: The U.S. Army Campaigns of World War II* (Washington, DC: U.S. Army Center of Military History, 2003), 10.

[78]Ibid., 12.

[79]Ibid.

[80]Romanus and Sunderland, *Time Runs Out*, 61.

[81]Kraus, *China Offensive*, 8.

[82]Romanus and Sunderland, *Time Runs Out*, 264-276.

[83]Kraus, *China Offensive*, 17.

[84]Ibid., 16-18.

[85]Gordon K. Cusack, "Repatriation in the China Theater," *Military Review* 28, no. 2 (May 1948): 58-62.

[86]Ronald H. Spector, *United States Army in Vietnam Advice and Support: The Early Years, 1941-1960* (Washington, DC: United States Army Center for Military History, 1985), 51-54. Chapter 4 of this U.S. Army in Vietnam series published by the Center for Military History discusses the deployment of four Chinese armies (50th, 60th, 62nd, and 93rd) into northern Vietnam with accompanying American liaison officers under the command of Brigadier General Philip E. Gallagher. True to form, this Army Group was commanded by a Yunnan warlord, Lu Han, and he and his men made the most of this exile by Jiang.

[87] Ibid.

[88]Meiron Harries and Susie Harries, *Soldiers of the Sun: The Rise and Fall of the Imperial Japanese Army* (New York: Random House, 1991), 454-455.

[89]Colonel W. J. Peterkin, *Inside China, 1943-1945: An Eyewitness Account of America's Mission in Yenan* (Baltimore, MD: Gateway Press, Inc., 1992), 118.

CHAPTER 6

THE POST WAR ADVISE AND SUPPORT EFFORT

In September 1945, the 60,000 American military personnel in China like their compatriots in all the other theaters of the Second World War were eager to begin the process of deploying back to the United States.[1] The long and difficult conflict against Japan, especially in the CBI Theater, was over and it was time to go home.[2] The war in the Asia Pacific Theater against the Japanese had taken on its own special nature and characteristics as described by John Dower in his study *War Without Mercy: Race and Power in the Pacific War.*[3] The war in China between two Asian peoples also developed its own distinct character and legacy. The Rape of Nanjing, the bombing campaign against the virtually defenseless China's cities, and the staggering battlefield losses of the Nationalist forces estimated to be up to ten million, helped characterize that theater of war.

During this conflict, "the Chinese people lived with the horrors of war more than eight years as their nation was torn asunder."[4] The "kill all, burn all, loot all"[5] reprisals against the civilians in northern China in the area of Mao's August 1940 Hundred Regiments Campaign was indicative of the great human costs of the Japanese occupation and Chinese resistance. The dire humanitarian circumstances at the beginning of the post war in parts of China compared with or exceeded the suffering of any other participant in the Second World War. Unfortunately, for the Chinese people, however, the end of the war with Japan did not mean the end of human suffering, political and economic crises, or military conflict. The victory over Japan also did not mean the end of the American military advisory effort.

The Communist and Nationalist Chinese forces, with their American counterparts, merely entered another phase of a struggle to recover from the ravages of war and occupation, stabilize

the nation, and build a competent national military establishment. The internal political-military struggle between the two Chinese factions, which had been overshadowed by the more than eight years of war against Japan, entered a new stage. Nearly a year before the end of the war with Japan, the Roosevelt administration began an effort to assist China in addressing the problems of uniting the country politically and preventing a return to civil war.[6] The American military advisors remaining in China after the Japanese surrender played an important supporting role in this struggle for military, political, and national unity. This chapter examines their activities during this complex, difficult, and ultimately unsuccessful undertaking. From September of 1945 until the evacuation of the remaining members of the Joint United States Military Assistance Group to the Republic of China (JUSMAGCHINA) in January of 1949, the American military personnel in China were tasked to conduct a wide variety of missions in a very politically charged, and usually ambiguous, operational environment.

The post war period of American military support and assistance can be roughly divided into two relatively distinct phases on either side of the Marshall Mission that ended in January of 1947. The following activities characterized the two periods: (1) Repatriation, redeployment and reorganization, and negotiation; and, (2) Conditional support, Nationalist overreach, defeat and retreat. During the first phase, the United States and the military advisors on the ground were committed to deploying the Nationalist forces to reoccupy their sovereign territory and support the Allied effort to repatriate the Japanese in China. Concurrently, the United States facilitated negotiations for national political and military reconciliation. This effort was led first by Ambassador Hurley, and after his abrupt resignation, by General Marshall. The second phase began with the breakdown of negotiations and the decision to conditionally support Jiang and Nationalists in the escalating civil war. After several months of Nationalist victories in the first

half of 1947, the tide began to turn in favor of the Communists with a series of successes in northeastern China. The ultimate outcome of this phase was the humiliating defeat of the Nationalist forces and their retreat to the island of Taiwan by way of Hong Kong and Chongqing. This chapter focuses on the key activities conducted or supported by the military advisors during these two phases of continuing American involvement in China's post war struggle.

Repatriation

During the first phase of the post war period, the initial task was the collection and return of Japanese military and civilian personnel to their home islands. This operation took place in a very ambiguous global strategic situation. This was especially true in Asia where the end of the war came earlier than expected with little chance for advanced planning. The Allies had to negotiate the details of the surrender procedures and areas of responsibilities in Japan, Korea, and Southeast Asia among themselves as the situation developed. The relationship between the Chinese Nationalists and the Communists was complicated by the late arriving Soviet forces attack into Manchuria during the last month of the war. In addition, selected Japanese forces remained armed or were rearmed to maintain stability in the chaos of the post-war in several countries, including China.[7] Although it could not be known at the time, the seeds of two major conflicts in Asia were sown in the post war machinations of the winning powers.

Managing the surrender of the Japanese military forces and their supporting civilian bureaucracies and businesses at home and overseas was a huge task. There were an estimated 2,575,000 troops to be demobilized in Japan and another 3,395,000 overseas including 1,750,000 in China, Taiwan, and Manchuria.[8] The problems of repatriating nearly 4,000,000 Japanese military and civilian personnel from China had less to do with security issues, although retaliation against Japanese citizens did take place, than with the logistics of such an undertaking.

There were significant practical problems inherent in the collection, care and feeding, and overland transportation to ports of debarkation of millions of people, some of whom had lived in China for decades. The availability of transportation assets for this number of people within the theater competed with the ships and planes needed to return servicemen to the United States. The scale of the problem of repatriating Japanese forces and civilians from overseas locations was a larger and more difficult problem than the demobilization the troops in the home islands. The large-scale movement back to Japan could not begin until early 1946 as shipping became available and facilities to handle the people at the ports had been established.[9]

The Japanese, with their puppet Chinese government officials and troops, had controlled Manchuria since the early 1930's and the urban areas and lines of communication in much of eastern China for eight years. The functions they performed had to be assumed by the Nationalist authorities as early as possible. Further complicating the situation, the Communists had infiltrated significant areas of northern and eastern China and were prepared to take control when an administrative and security vacuum developed. The Nationalist government and its best military forces were located far to the southwest of China and unprepared for the work ahead. To assist in this daunting task and to facilitate the coordination between the United States and China, the American wartime support structure was kept in place virtually unchanged. Ambassador Hurley and General Wedemeyer, who had established and maintained good working relationships with the Nationalist government, and the Communists at Yan'an, remained in China to oversee this new effort. The American military advisors were uniquely postured to assist in this endeavor.

Until a new post war organization for military advisory support could be established, Wedemeyer's United States Forces China Theater (USFCT), first organized in October of 1944,

remained in place as the senior American military headquarters. This meant all army units and most American supporting security organizations in China, including the advisory personnel in Chinese Combat Command, continued under his direct supervision. These personnel were generally co-located with their Nationalist counterparts in southern and central China or in the major headquarters in Kunming and Chongqing. Wedemeyer did not have command authority over naval units, strategic air force elements, the Joint Intelligence Collection Agency (JICA) or the Office of Strategic Services (OSS). There was still an important role for these organizations in collecting intelligence on the emerging situation, maintaining liaisons, and conducting covert or low visibility missions in post war China. One of these missions was support for the repatriation of American prisoners of war who had been held in Japanese camps in Manchuria.[10] These other elements continued to report to the Joint Staff or their higher service headquarters in Washington while coordinating with the Hurley and Wedemeyer.[11]

The desire for a post-war unity of effort was part of a debate in Washington generated by a State-War-Navy Coordinating Committee (SWNCC) paper of 28 May 1945 on the extent of commitments to China after the war. As the end of the war approached, the Assistant Secretary of War circulated a study and asked for the answers to the following questions:

(1) what would be done about the 39-division army;

(2) what kind of air force, if any, would the United States support;

(3) what was to be done about a military mission to China; and,

(4) what was to be done about surplus military equipment in the China Theater?[12]

The discussion of the road ahead for military advice and assistance to China continued through the rest of the year as the immediate task of repatriation demanded immediate attention. How

well this task was done by the Nationalists and how the situation in China developed over the next several months mattered in terms of America's strategic goals in Asia.

The Chinese national leadership, the governmental bureaucracy, and the best Nationalist divisions trained, equipped, and advised by the American advisors were still in central and southern China at the end of the war. Redeploying these units to supervise the surrender and repatriation meant supporting the relocation of Jiang and his government back to Nanjing as well as the movement of large numbers of Nationalist forces. The scale and complexity of the problems faced by the Nationalist regime in conducting this type of operation was significant. The timely implementation of the terms of the Japanese surrender required significant numbers of forces and the ability to deploy, command and control, and logistically support them over a large land area. Nationalist forces did not possess these capabilities. The possibility of further fighting also could not be discounted. Wedemeyer warned Marshall about the potentially "explosive" situation in China. Conflict between the Nationalists and the Communists, and possibly against some Japanese units that refused to surrender, had to be considered in the initial planning.[13]

To meet the challenges Wedemeyer requested five U.S. Army divisions be sent to China to assist in the repatriation mission. The Supreme Commander Allied Powers (SCAP), General Douglas MacArthur, who was the senior American and Allied commander in the Pacific area of operation, turned down this request. However, the III Marine Amphibious Corps (IIIAC) with two divisions was offered and accepted.[14] On the 22nd of August, now Brigadier General Hayden Boatner, who had been the senior liaison to the Chinese at the training center in Ramgarh in 1942, represented Wedemeyer and USFCT at a conference in Guam to coordinate this deployment.[15] The mission of the nearly fifty thousand Marines was to secure key ports and

internal lines of communication in north China. These tasks were directly related to the Allies shared administrative and logistical requirements to facilitate the Japanese surrender as directed in a 10 August 1945 message to Wedemeyer from the Joint Staff. In an admonition that significantly constrained American forces for the next four years, Wedemeyer was warned not to "prejudice the basic principle that the United States will not support the Central Government in China in fratricidal war," in the conduct of the enumerated tasks. These tasks included; "secure control of key ports and communication points"....continue "military assistance...for the purpose of supporting Chinese military operations essential to the reoccupation"... and directed that..."the surrender of Japanese forces in China, whether complete or piecemeal, will be to Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek or his representative." Wedemeyer was also directed to "assist the Central Government in the rapid transport of Chinese Central Government forces to key areas of China..."[16]

In directing support to the Central Government of China, internationally recognized as the Nationalist regime of Jiang Jieshi, the American die was cast. This support was inextricably linked to the emerging political and military crisis between the Nationalists and the Communists as they vied for control of key areas of the country. The missions given to Wedemeyer were essentially providing direct support to one faction in a civil war that had been going on for decades. The IIIAC had an Allied mandate to oversee the Japanese surrender in the name of Jiang and the Nationalist government. The control of the key ports and the movement of Nationalist forces were to be carried out concurrently with ongoing talks between the Nationalists and the Communists in Chongqing facilitated by Ambassador Hurley. The deployment of the IIIAC and American assistance to the Nationalist movement east, from the Communist perspective could hardly be seen as the actions of a neutral. The ultimate outcome of

the occupation of Japan and Korea, and the actions in China had a direct impact on the post war American goal of a sovereign, independent China, friendly to the United States, able to play a leading role in Asia.[17]

The deployment of a large American ground force to China in September 1945 appeared to signal a strong commitment to remain involved in post war China. However, the fact that the priority of assignment of U.S. Army units was to Japan and Korea, not China, should also not be overlooked. The debate within the U.S. government, between the joint staff and the services, and with key members and blocs of the Congress over what to do about military support to China continued for the next four years and beyond. American policy appeared to be ambiguous and reactive. That approach will not change as the advisors attempted to carry out their assigned post-war tasks.

Despite apprehension about the potential for combat operations by the commander of the force, Major General Keller E. Rockey, the IIIAC landed unopposed into areas of China still controlled by the Japanese forces.[18] A strong and capable military presence under an Allied mandate forestalled early tentative moves by the Communists to move into Beijing, Tianjin, and Qingdao. This success was less by force of arms than by the legitimacy of the IIIAC deployment to support the surrender and repatriation of the Japanese under the orders of General MacArthur, the senior Allied commander in the theater. Therefore, this force under the direct command of General Wedemeyer, worked for Generalissimo Jiang in his role as the senior Allied commander in China. Among the American officers, there were those who knew the language, the culture, and the geography of eastern China. They developed relationships with each other and key Chinese leaders facilitated this effort.

The Marine Corps, like the U.S. Army, had a long history of service in Asia. Two senior officers assigned to the IIIAC had extensive backgrounds in China. The unit's chief of staff, Brigadier General William A. Worton, and the senior intelligence officer, Colonel C.C. Brown, were both China hands who could speak the language and had served there extensively before the war.[19] In addition, there was a Marine-Army connection. Worton and Boatner served together as students in Beijing and were part of the "close fraternity among language officers."[20] This relationship undoubtedly assisted in the inter-service coordination for this mission. Another relationship that proved to be of value was Brown's friendship with Dai Li, Jiang's head of the Nationalist secret police and the counterpart to Captain Milton E. Miles who headed the Navy's SACO and the OSS in China.[21]

Worton related a story of meeting with the Admiral Chester Nimitz, the Commander-in-Chief of Pacific Command, as the planning was going forward for the IIIAC deployment to China. Nimitz told Worton "it's very unusual that Washington does the right thing. Here you are a former language officer. You served in Peiping in 1923 to '26, in Tientsin and Shanghai '27 to '29, and Peiping from '31 to '36, and again in Shanghai in '36 and '37. They are sending you to China. Usually if you can speak Chinese and are familiar with the China situation, they'd send you to Arabia."[22] That Nimitz knew Worton's background, met with him personally, and spoke with him about the task ahead argues for the senior military leadership's understanding of the importance of this mission. Worton was selected to lead the advanced party for the newly established military headquarters. This task not only called for area and language expertise, but military and diplomatic skills as well. In addition to these two senior officers, four Chinese-born college students that had attended college in the United States served with IIIAC as civilian interpreters. Worton also learned early in the deployment that between three and four hundred of

the USMC personnel in the subordinate divisions had previously served in China.[23] The marines selected for this critical mission were veterans of combat in the South Pacific with a cadre of key officers and men who had served previously in China.

In mid September, Worton flew first to "chaotic" Shanghai and met with a U.S. Army Brigadier General Douglas L. Weart who had recently deployed there with a small Nationalist army element. After receiving an update on his orders relayed from Wedemeyer, Worton and his small advanced party flew to Tianjin to prepare for the deployment of the main force at the end of the month.[24] The IIIAC's initial mission was "to seize the ports of Tientsin [Tianjin], Tangku [Dagu], Chinwangtao [Qinhuangdao], Tsingtao [Qingdao], and such other places as might be necessary to maintain the line of communications."[25] When he arrived in Tianjin, he was met and treated properly by the Japanese military leadership who indicated their willingness to accede to the surrender terms and support his advanced party preparatory mission. There would be no Nationalist troops in this area for months and the Japanese continued to secure the key cities and lines of communications until relieved by the Americans of IIIAC. In contrast to other areas of China, "North China was quiet when we landed. Food was abundant. Railroads were running. Merchants were operating. Frankly, I could have imagined that it could have been 1935 rather than 1945."[26] The deployments of the units of the 1st Marine Division in the Tianjin/Beijing area and the 6th Marine Division at Qingdao were accomplished quickly and control of the key ports, airfields and lines of communications firmly established.[27]

The IIIAC was under the operational command of USFCT and would remain so until May of the following year when it reverted to control of the U.S. Navy. Worton's view of working for Wedemeyer was very positive. "The commanding general of the China Theater was an extremely capable man who knew China and knew how to handle the Chinese. General

Wedemeyer was very, very fair in his dealings with the Third Amphibious Corps."[28] The official *Victory and Occupation Volume V of the History of the U.S. Marine Corps in World War II* by Benis M. Frank and Henry I. Shaw documents this unique mission. *China Marine: An Infantryman's Life After World War II* by E.B. Sledge provides a personal view of a serviceman on the ground during this deployment and provides a very interesting complementary account from a very difference perspective. Sledge is the author of a classic work on men in combat, *With the Old Breed At Peleliu and Okinawa*, whose story served as the basis of the recent Home Box Office television series, *The Pacific*. There is also a novel *China Marine* written by retired USMC Colonel Paul E. Wilson purportedly based on the real life story of a young Marine in China during this time that discusses the difficulties of the situation with the Communists in the area around Beijing.

Sledge chronicles the daily life of the enlisted Marines who served in China in 1945 and 1946 after the war with Japan and at the very beginning of the Cold War. Sledge describes the boredom, danger, responsibilities, and opportunities working among the Chinese people and warring factions in the chaotic immediate post war period. He also provides his views on the professionalism of the Japanese military and the confusion of working with and against the Chinese Nationalist, Communist, puppet, and warlord elements. The landing of the Marine divisions began on 30 September 1945 in the vicinity of Dagu in the area east of Tianjin with a follow-on landing at Qingdao on the Shandong peninsula. Major elements moved to the vicinity of Beijing and these three cities became the key areas held by this force. Although there were Marines still on the ground in China to protect American citizens through the evacuation in early 1949 their major tasks of protecting these ports and key areas of north China was greatly reduced in July of 1947 at the end of the Marshall Mission.[29] It should be noted that the U.S. Navy with

its USMC contingent attempted to hold the key base at Qingdao and remained there in force until December of 1948.[30]

Because of the secure situation in north China in the IIIAC area of responsibility, the repatriation of the Japanese began from that region first. It was not until 25 October that a meeting of the key headquarters involved in conducted detailed planning for this operation was held in Shanghai. USFCT was the lead planning organization. However, staff officers from MacArthur's headquarters, the U.S. Navy's Seventh Fleet, as well as Chinese representatives from the government and Headquarters, Chinese Ground Forces and their American liaisons from the Chinese Combat Command attended the meeting. There were more than twenty-five ports and camps to be prepared to support this effort. The planners called for the repatriation of over 300,000 per month beginning in January of 1946. The United States Navy controlled merchant vessels and former Japanese navy and civilian shipping had to be marshaled for this task. A subordinate headquarters was established in Shanghai under Wedemeyer and USFCT. The evacuation of the Japanese military was the highest priority and the USMC supplied the guard forces aboard each ship.[31]

Redeployment

In addition to the IIIAC deployments, Nationalist forces had to be moved to eastern China as quickly as possible. The key to long-term success for a stable and united China was to have Jiang's forces assume the new post war tasks and thereby reoccupy their country. The key was not losing the momentum that had been gained in building the Nationalist armed forces since the beginning of the war. The effort to train and equip the 13 armies and 39 divisions of the Alpha force had gone well. Nevertheless, at the end of the war, some of the units still required at least three months to complete their planned training program.[32] The American supported

military school system, first established in Ramgarh and now fully functioning in the Kunming area, showed great promise in continuing to build the future Nationalist army. General Henry H. "Hap" Arnold, the Commanding General U.S. Army Air Forces (USAAF), pushed for continuing to build the Chinese Air Force after the war with about 2,000 American trainers.[33] In addition, the elements of a competent and efficient Chinese Service of Supply (SOS) to support these forces logistically, was being built, guided by a significant numbers of American trainers and advisors.

Romanus and Sunderland offered this insight into "Wedemeyer's experiment" at the close of the war: "Adequate resources were at hand or in sight. If Japan fought on long enough, and well enough, that paradoxically, might be the salvation of the Generalissimo's government."[34] Wedemeyer, the planner and strategist, was now looking ahead at continuing and expanding the advise and assist mission to prepare for future contingencies. A key part of that effort was to significantly reduce the number of divisions in the Nationalist force structure from over 300 to around 100 divisions. One American study concluded that about 120 divisions could be supported by China's post war economy. The plan was to train and equip an additional 40 division to the standards of the Alpha units. This potentially meant doubling the number of American advisors, from about 4,000 to 8,000 to accomplish this task. This would allow the continuation of the liaison elements at the army and division headquarters and provide the leadership and technical specialists needed at the training establishment to support a force of eighty divisions.[35] The problem was the Japanese did not fight on long enough, the number of American advisors would not be increased, and the Chinese military would not be reduced in size. The two elements that are consistently mentioned in terms of the building of an effective

Chinese military force were the reduction in size and maintaining the American liaison teams with the units on combat operations.

To build the ground and air forces necessary with a supporting logistics system would have required keeping from 10,000-12,000 American trainers and advisors in China. In September of 1945, Jiang requested an American military advisory effort for China of about 3,500 personnel. State, War, and Navy offices in Washington considered this issue; however, a proposal to keep about 1,000 personnel divided into ground, air, and naval contingents was eventually forwarded for a decision. Truman did not approve this plan until February of 1946. This plan included a reduction in the number of America military personnel assigned as operational level advisors at division and regimental levels. The new focus was on higher organizational level headquarters and training assistance.[36] However, the removal of combat advisors down to regimental level was a key decision given the continuing command and logistics problems endemic in the Nationalist Army. The one area that did receive consistent approval from Washington was support for redeploying the Nationalist forces to eastern and northeastern China. This assistance was coupled with requests to withdraw the USMC units from north China at the earliest opportunity.[37]

Fully prepared or not, the Nationalist forces had to be moved to northern and eastern China as quickly as possible to participate in the surrender and repatriation of the Japanese and to facilitate the process of recovering and controlling formerly occupied territory. Over the following months, the American military moved nearly one-half a million troops by boat and plane. The USFCT headquarters, in conjunction with their Chinese counterparts, planned and conducted the airlift of forces that included three armies with their subordinate divisions. These units were airlifted to Beijing, Nanjing, and Shanghai respectively.[38] Colonel F.W. Boye, an

advisor with the Chinese 94th Army relates how "The Third Army Group bundled the 94th Army into C-54 airplanes for the 900 mile flight to Shanghai where General T'ang [Tang] assumed the area command. Under American control the army of 36,000 men was transported without incident."[39]

American military advisers that had been serving with these units helped plan, and then accompanied and supervised, the transport of these units.[40] As was discussed at the end of chapter 5, one of the Nationalist group armies from southern China with its American advisors was deployed to northern Vietnam to take the Japanese surrender in that location. By the late fall of 1945, the situation in China and on its periphery was rapidly being transformed. Strong American and Nationalist Chinese forces were in place in the north and east of China. However, the situation with the Soviets in Manchuria was still an issue for the Allies and significantly complicated the situation between the Chinese Nationalists and Communists.

Negotiation

As part of the Yalta Agreement of February 1945, to which the Chinese were not a signatory, several concessions in Asia were made to the Soviets as a quid pro quo for their entering the conflict with Japan. Two provisions specifically dealt with Chinese sovereign territory. The first was the internationalization of the port of Darien (Dalian) at the end of the Liaodong peninsula long fought over by the Japanese and the Russians.[41] The second provision called for the establishment of a joint Chinese-Soviet company to operate the Chinese-Eastern and South-Manchuria Railroad that connected the Soviet Union to the year-round port of Dalian. The Soviets also agreed to "conclude with the National Government of China a pact of friendship and alliance...."[42] In June of 1945 under instructions from President Truman, Ambassador Hurley

advised Jiang of the Yalta provisions. In July and August, Nationalist government officials and their Soviets counterparts held talks on this issue in Moscow.

On August 14th, 1945, a Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship and Alliance was signed that essentially formalized the Yalta agreement. In addition, both sides agreed to mutual respect for sovereignty and non-interference in the internal affairs of each state. "The Soviet Union promised moral and military aid to the 'National Government as the central government in China' and recognized Chinese sovereignty in Manchuria."[43] This treaty and subordinate agreements put the Chinese and Soviets where they had been diplomatically in the late 1930s before Germany attacked, and Japan and the U.S.S.R. signed their non-aggression pact. The stage seemed to be set for Jiang to be in a strong bargaining position with Mao and the Chinese Communists. The Soviets appeared to be supporting the Nationalists. However, ceding control of sovereign Chinese territory was controversial domestically and was an issue for future negotiations and long-term Sino-Soviet relations.[44]

When the war with Japan ended in China in September 1945, negotiations were already ongoing between the leadership of the Nationalists and Communists mediated by Ambassador Patrick J. Hurley as the senior American representative.[45] In August of 1945, he had flown to Yan'an and accompanied Mao back to Chongqing who stayed for over a month of high-level negotiations. These talks stalled over a range of disagreements and impasses including the mix of Communist and Nationalist forces in the future national army and the numbers of officials each party would appoint in national, provincial, and regional offices. Hurley abruptly resigned in November 1945 as the talks faltered.[46] President Truman quickly replaced him with George C. Marshall who spent most of the next year trying to keep both sides from further escalating their conflict. Marshall strove for both verified truces in the fighting, a reduction of military force

levels, and to find common ground for political accommodation. One of the controversial measures used by Marshall as leverage was the suspension of military aid to the Nationalist forces.[47] This decision was especially awkward for the advisors serving with Nationalist headquarters in terms of the range and scope of duties they could perform. In August of 1945, a directive that had been in place from the very beginning of the advisory mission was reemphasized. Americans military personnel in China were told again to avoid involvement in China's internal conflict.[48]

A detailed account of the controversial Marshall Mission to China is beyond the scope of this study, as is any judgment of the potential changes for its success.[49] That said, it is difficult to imagine that a soldier, diplomat, and statesman of Marshall's status, who had lived and served in China, would have undertaken this difficult task if the possibility of success did not exist. If he did undertake the mission knowing of the chances of success were slim, that would indicate the importance he placed in bringing the Chinese factions together. There are several excellent accounts of the Marshall Mission and its aftermath including the fourth volume of a George C. Marshall biography by Forrest C. Pogue. This study, by the preeminent Marshall scholar, provides a detailed account of his activities in Washington and in China from 1945-1949. From December of 1946 through January of 1947, Marshall attempted to bring both the Nationalists and the Communist to an agreement on a mutually acceptable way forward in China.

There are two other works that specifically cover this mission in some detail. The interesting 1998 work, George *C. Marshall's Mediation Mission to China, December 1945-January 1947,* edited by Larry I. Bland, provides a large number of short chapters looking at the mission from many different perspectives written by both American and Chinese scholars. This work includes a "Military Aspects" section that looks at two activities of this mission. Separate

chapters address the attempt to join the Communist and Nationalist armies and the effect of the loss of key ports in China on the U.S. Navy. In an excellent reference for researchers, Lyman Van Slyke provides a useful introduction to Marshall's multi-chapter report to the president that has a second volume that includes a collection of the key documents in *Marshall's Mission To China* compiled by University Publications of America.

The Hurley and Marshall negotiations were a bridge between the training and actual combat advising conducted during the war with Japan and the more restricted missions and activities conducted in the post war years. There are two key examples of the American advisors being tasked to play important roles in supporting the Marshall negotiations. One of the most innovative missions was for some of the advisors to serve as members of the Executive Headquarters in Beijing under the direction of Brigadier General Henry A. Byroade. This organization provided ceasefire monitoring teams, or truce teams that included Chinese Communist, Nationalist, and American officers.[50] Another planned mission in support of the Marshall Mission was for an American team of advisors to train and equip Communist divisions prior to their integration into a national army. Both of these unique missions were unique tasks that emerged with little warning or opportunity for detailed prior planning. However, these two tasks supported Marshall's attempt to put a lasting cease-fire in place, build an integrated national army, and maintain a role for the United States military in China.

The Executive Headquarters was established by agreement of the Communist, Nationalist, and American representatives in January of 1946 as part of the Marshall-led negotiations. This body's function was to "ensure implementation of the Cessation of Hostilities Order." Three Commissioners were appointed to oversee the administration of any agreements made by the parties. The implementing arm of this agency was the Operations Section that had

an American Army officer as its director.[51] "It was made clear that American participation in the headquarters was solely for the purpose of assisting the Chinese members in implementing the cease-fire order."[52] For the next year, these field teams of 10-15 people, normally led by an American colonel or lieutenant colonel, moved out across the disputed areas of north and east China to monitor and report on violations and incidents. Since the Soviets still occupied Manchuria, this area was especially challenging.[53]

A Military Intelligence Department report published in November of 1946 recaps the truce activities conducted from the initial agreements in January of 1946 through the date of the report. The January ceasefire that called for the establishment of this activity was never "officially abrogated," although both sides conducted unauthorized military deployments and there were numerous violations. These "cease-fire teams sent out by the Peiping executive headquarters to enforce the truces generally proved ineffective."[54] Nevertheless, this organization kept dozens of teams in the field for over a year attempting to implement, first the January 1946 ceasefire truce, two regional truces announced in May, a June truce for Manchuria, and an August truce.

These elements adapted quickly to the changing circumstances and conducted their operations under often dangerous and ambiguous circumstances. One analytical line of the report is especially telling. "It is worth noting that, whenever a truce, whether large or small, has been effective, this is only because it has been to the advantage of both parties."[55] This mission could not succeed because neither side wanted a ceasefire nor there was no enforcement mechanism associated with this mission. The teams had no leverage over the warring factions. There were no sticks, and there were few carrots--only the promise of the delivery of military equipment and

training. The American members of these teams may not have been particularly successful as "peacekeepers" but they were the eyes and ears of Marshall and the American effort in China.[56]

One key aspect of Marshall's negotiations was the reduction of the Nationalist and Communist forces and the establishment of a unified national army. American advisors continued to work with the Nationalist forces and were reorganized under the Nanjing Command Headquarters in February of 1946 with the planned closing of the USFCT. These officers continued to work with higher-level Nationalist headquarters focused primarily on fulfilling past lend-lease agreements and earlier negotiated arms sales contracts. In late February of 1946, a national military reorganization agreement was reached. This pact called for a two-phased arrangement where after 12 months there would be 90 Nationalist divisions and 18 Communist divisions. At the end of 18 months, the national army would consist of 50 Nationalist and 10 Communist divisions. Five regional areas were designated with headquarters and numbers of subordinate divisions specified to enable the administrative demobilization and redeployment of forces. The Nationalist-Communist ratio of 5 to 1 was to be maintained as further political agreements and accommodations were implemented.[57] The Executive Headquarters was to monitory the demobilization and reorganization.

Another unique aspect of the negotiations also under the aegis of the Executive Headquarters was the provision to put together an American team to train and equip the Communist forces of 10 divisions for this reorganized army.[58] Called the Kalgan (Zhangjiakou) School, this site was a Communist held area astride an historic pass north of the Great Wall. The objective was to use American officers as trainers to conduct a three month program to bring Communist units up to par with the Nationalist formations so they would not "lose face" when the formations were integrated. The Ground Forces Section of the Nanjing Headquarters

Command was tasked with this mission and 90 officers and 20 enlisted personnel were sent to Nanjing in May of 1946 to prepare for this mission. These newly arrived advisors were given courses on methods of instruction and weapons in addition to language and cultural orientations. They also prepared and had translated lessons and doctrinal materials. The establishment of this school suffered a series of delays. These military personnel were eventually integrated into either the Executive Headquarters truce teams or the Nanjing Headquarters Command. This planned and partially resourced program was never established.[59]

Executive Headquarters was terminated soon after January of 1947 when Marshall gave up on further negotiations and returned to Washington, D.C. to report to President Truman on the situation in China. As with the Hurley mission the year before, by December of 1946 the Marshall-led negotiations had again clearly failed to end the conflict and bring about national political and military unity. Marshall returned to Washington ostensibly for deliberations, however, on January 7th, 1947, President Truman nominated him to be the Secretary of State.[60] What to do about China in the aftermath of the failed negotiations was a key issue for the Truman administration. The United States had little choice, but to support Jiang and the Nationalists. The problem was to decide the parameters of that support. There was no clarity in either Washington or in the American advisory headquarters in China on the scope or scale of this effort.

Conditional Support and Nationalist Overreach, Defeat and Retreat

The second phase of the post-war period began in January of 1947 with the official end of the Marshall Mission and the widespread outbreak of fighting between the two factions. The United States now unambiguously chose sides, but the extent and nature of future support to Jiang and the Nationalists was still not decided. Those military and State Department personnel

in the "Dixie Mission" with Mao at Yan'an were withdrawn. The nearly three-year long liaison and observer mission with the Communists ended officially in February of 1947, but it was not until March that the remaining Americans finally left.[61] In the middle of March 1947, Nationalist forces attacked and captured Mao's wartime headquarters in Yan'an where the Communists had fled to after the Long March in 1935.[62] This campaign was the turning point in the civil war and was prime example of the poor strategic and logistical planning of the Nationalists. Beginning in June of 1947, the Nationalist forces suffered a series of defeats until they lost the northeast, were driven south of the Yangzi, and began the retreat to Taiwan. The definitive military history of the Chinese Civil War has not yet been written. The studies that have been written have traditionally suffered from lack of access to objective and detailed accounts from both the Communist and the Nationalist sides.

Since 2000, two military surveys that detail the battles and campaigns of the Chinese Civil War have been published that were used in preparation for this study along with selected contemporaneous official Military Intelligence Division weekly reports. *The Third Chinese Revolutionary Civil War, 1945-1949: An Analysis of Communist strategy and leadership* by Christopher R. Lews was published in 2009 and provides an excellent overview. Odd Arne Westad's *Decisive Encounters: The Chinese Civil War, 1946-1950* primarily provides an examination of the political and the military aspects of the conflict. He researched archives in both China and on Taiwan for his very useful account. This study of American advisors does not focus on the fighting since they only trained and equipped Nationalist units and did not accompany them into combat. The broad trends of the conduct of the war are sufficient in terms of setting the context for key American decisions and the activities of the advisors that remained in China during the civil war. That said, the reduced level of support provided by the Truman

administration, advised by the China specialists in the State Department and the military departments during this period, is still a controversial topic. Once the number of advisors was drawn down, a process that began in the fall of 1945, it was difficult to significantly increase the numbers or commit forces to combat in China.

Conditional support and Nationalist overreach

At the beginning of this phase with the withdrawal of the Marshall Mission, the Nationalist forces conducted very successful operations against Communist occupied areas in eastern and northern China. Widespread fighting gradually escalated as both sides attempted to secure control of key territory. Nationalist forces, including the Alpha force units trained, equipped, and advised by Americans in India, Burma, and southwest China continued to conduct operations in northeastern China. In July of 1945, sixteen armies and over fifty divisions of the Nationalist Army had American military advisors assigned.[63] From that time until January of 1947, there was a steady reduction of American military advisory personnel as part of a plan to reorganize the effort that began in early 1946 with the formation of separate service (army, air force, navy, and marine) advisory groups. As has been mentioned previously, American military personnel were not allowed to act as combat advisors with front line forces. They were limited to predominantly liaison functions at the higher-level headquarters. They also did not plan major campaigns and operations at senior level headquarters. American influence on the war was essentially limited to logistics support and continued low level manning of the now extensive Nationalist military training establishment. The conduct of the war against the Communist was clearly under the purview of Jiang and his generals.

In early 1947, Jiang ordered the execution of the "6th" Extermination Campaign that had not occurred in 1936 in northwest China. After extensive negotiations, Mao and Jiang had agreed

to the formation of the second United Front in the negotiations after the Xian incident.[64] In 1947, Yan'an was still an important psychological target as this location had served as the Communist headquarters for over a decade. However, the 1947 victory wasted men and resources in capturing and holding an area of the country far from the decisive fight for control of China. Jiang appeared to be fighting an earlier iteration of the civil war. The capture of Yan'an was understandable as an important political and psychological goal for Jiang, but it was not a decisive military objective, as it no longer functioned as Mao's main headquarters and the base of the Red Army. The Chinese civil war of the late 1940s, unlike that of the 1930s, would be won or lost first in the northeast and then in the area from Beijing to Shanghai, the demographic, political, and economic heartland of the country. The strategic and operational circumstances of the Chinese Civil War had changed dramatically during the war with Japan and in the opening year of the post war period. The maintenance of a large, political military was not only expensive it was inefficient and not responsive in a war where the enemy had mobility, initiative, and experience in fighting both guerrilla and mobile warfare. Other significant problems were the failure to reorganize, practice sound logistics, and select competent military leaders.

The tide began to turn for the worse for the Nationalist in the summer of 1947 as the political-military struggle turned in favor of the Communist forces.[65] The Chinese people and the Nationalist army had now been at war for more than a decade. They had borne the brunt of the fighting against the Japanese, had quickly redeployed to the east to exert control, and were once again engaged in large-scale combat operations. Despite some early successes in northwest and eastern China, the long and costly effort in the northeast and Manchuria against the Communists took its toll. By the end of the summer, the Nationalist forces had lost the initiative. They were now forced to react to both Communist large unit maneuvers and guerrilla operations along the

long lines of communication necessary for adequate logistical support to their widely deployed forces. By the fall of 1947, the combination of economic, political, and military factors weakened Jiang's ability to provide the Nationalist Army with sufficient logistical support, recruits, and reserve forces.[66]

In addition, in terms of an overall capabilities, the Nationalists on paper outnumbered the Communist regulars more than two-to-one and were better equipped than the Communist including an air force. However, the adage the he who defends everywhere defends nowhere came into play.[67] The Communists were now able to out-maneuver the Nationalists whose transportation assets, air, and ground, had deteriorated and were no longer adequate to Jiang's strategy. In addition, the Communists could and did cut and harass the vital rail links.[68] The Red Army could avoid decisive combat if outnumbered and concentrate to attack when advantageous, especially against smaller units defending key logistics sites. The Communists also could revert to guerrilla war to destroy, disrupt, and interdict the flow of supplies and ammunition throughout the long and vulnerable lines of communication. In the summer of 1947, Wedemeyer was dispatched to China to conduct an in-depth study of the situation on the ground.

On July 9, 1947, Wedemeyer was instructed by President Truman to travel to China and Korea to undertake an "appraisal of the political, economic, psychological, and military situation--current and projected."[69] Three key Wedemeyer recommendations are outlined below:

"That China make effective use of her own resources in a program for economic reconstruction and initiate sound fiscal policies leading to reduction of budgetary deficits...

That China give continuing evidence that the urgently required political and military reforms are being implemented...

That China accept American advisors as responsible representatives of the U.S. government in specified military and economic fields to assist China in utilizing U.S. aid in the manner for which it is intended."[70]

This report again does not call for the use of advisors in a direct combat role to serve alongside Nationalist troops in the field. The American advisor mission was to remain predominately training, education, and advice on organization, logistics, and administration. There is no call for the United States to recommit its own combat forces to this conflict or to reconsider the decade long policy of avoiding entanglement in China's internal conflict. The reality of Wedemeyer's recommendations was America would continue military and economic support but Jiang and the Nationalists must solve their own problems. Economic, political, and military reforms were all required for a Nationalist victory. The legacy of a decade of American aid was clear. Any assistance would come with strings attached and the advisors were there to make sure the aid must be used in an appropriate manner.

The American advisory effort during this period is outlined below in an extended excerpt from *The Final Report of the Joint United States Military Advisory Group to the Republic of China.* This reference hereafter is cited as the "Barr Report." This report of over 1,000 pages provides a detailed situation report at the end of the post-war advise and assist mission. Much of the document is section-by-section detailed reports on the various supporting headquarters, the training organizations, and the minutia of developing a large and complex military force.

> 3. Historical
>
> a. General -- JUSMAGCHINA was the last of a series of United States military organizations in China. The organizations preceding the formation of the Army Advisory Group (AAG) influenced the operation and mission of that Group in that they prepared detailed plans for an advisory organization and left behind them large theater stocks and various residual tasks for their successors.
>
> b. Army Advisory Group -- The Army Advisory Group was formed from the Nanking Headquarters Command in November 1946. It included Air, Ground, and Combined Services Divisions in addition to necessary staff and administrative personnel. In early 1947, following inactivation of the Peiping Executive Headquarters, it became the only United States Army and Air Force headquarters in China, had the status, responsibilities, and functions of a theater headquarters and became responsible for the settlement of residual tasks of previous headquarters, including disposition of excessive theater stocks.

> c. Naval Advisory Group Survey Board -- The Naval Advisory Group Survey Board (NAGSB) was formed in November 1945. It was part of Naval Forces Western Pacific and, though it operated in close liaison with the AAG, was entirely independent of it. The Headquarters of the NAGSB was in Nanking, but most of its detailed advisory activities were conducted in Tsingtao.[71]

The substance of the above quotation is that the 1000 or so advisors in China from early 1946 through the writing of this report in February of 1949 conducted mostly administrative and training tasks with the Nationalist forces. They also managed those equipping programs authorized by Congress and the President including surplus military equipment, ammunition, and supplies. An official Joint Chiefs of Staff history covering this period provides a complete table of "Foreign Economic and Military Aid Authorized for China from V-J Day to 31 March 1949. This reference indicates there was $2 Billion in military supplies and equipment provided and that does not include another $1 Billion worth of surplus sold to the Nationalist for $232 million.[72]

An argument can certainly be made that despite the temporary suspension of aid by Marshall, a significant amount was provided to the Nationalist forces who did not lack military supplies and equipment for the war--had it been used more efficiently and effectively. That said, not allowing combat advisors down to regimental level, provided in the numbers requested, after the war with Japan, prematurely stopped the progress and ongoing success in modernizing the Nationalist Army. By not providing significant numbers of advisors to division and regimental levels for the long term as requested by Jiang in September of 1945 was an opportunity lost. The redeployment of the USMC IIIAC with its two subordinate divisions further exacerbated the situation in terms of control of key areas of north China and ability to react to the dynamic situation the evolved in China. In early 1947, American policy and the extent to which it was

willing to commit to the Nationalist cause was clear. The Chinese Civil War was Jiang's to win or lose.

Defeat and Retreat

The officers most loyal to Jiang, trained at Huangpu Military Academy under the German advisors in the 1920s, had now been fighting for more than twenty years. The Nationalist military was wearing out in a country weary of war and exhausted by the seemingly never-ending combat. Jiang was still struggling to bring about political unity even within his own party and the economic situation in China continued to deteriorate.[73] Jiang either had not, or could not, make the comprehensive changes needed in senior leadership selection; military size and organization; armaments procurement and logistics systems; officer training; and in recruiting and the fair treatment of soldiers. Jiang acknowledged the needs for changes, some of which the American advisors had been advocating since the AMMISCA mission in 1941.[74]

As late as the summer of 1948, American senior advisors were advocating Nationalist acceptance of organizational and operational changes for the Nationalist military that looked remarkable like those not implemented under Magruder, Stilwell and Wedemeyer in the war with Japan.[75] Now that it was too late, Jiang seemed more receptive to the suggestions of his American advisors. This phase of American support ended with the evacuation of the military advisors from National training bases north of the Yangzi, then from Nanjing, and eventually, the final evacuation of the remaining personnel out of Shanghai. The Nationalist's series of defeats from late 1947 to Mao's announcement of the People's Republic of China in October of 1949 was a period of blame and recriminations in terms of what the Truman administration might have done to assist Jiang and the Nationalists in avoiding this defeat. This chapter ends

with a brief, but telling assessment of the senior American advisors that remained on the ground until early 1949, and is found in the "Future Plans section of the "Barr Report."[76]

> JUSMAGCHINA was forced to leave China long before its mission was accomplished. Whether the mission, to create a modern armed force in keeping with the needs and resources of China, could ever be accomplished is questionable. Even with considerable outlay of American personnel and large supplies of military aid over a long period of years, an armed force comparable in effectiveness to that of even mediocre United States troops probably cannot be produced within a decade.[77]

From Stilwell at Ramgarh in 1942 to Major General David C. Barr, the Director of the Joint United States Military Advisor Group China in 1949 one salient and telling observation stands out. The best units in the Nationalist Chinese Army were trained and equipped by the American army. The Alpha force units proved themselves in combat in Burma and southwestern China. However, their American advisors under the direction of old China hands like Boatner and Dorn and thousands of Americans who had never been in Asia accompanied them into combat. U.S. ground and air forces including medical, transport, and logistical units also enable these forces. These same forces were transported to eastern China in September and October of 1945 to reestablish Chinese sovereignty, again under American direction and with extensive air and naval support. Thereafter, these forces fought independent of advisor support nearly continuously for three additional years before they became combat ineffective.

The American trained and equipped Alpha units were the model for a modernized and capable Chinese ground forces. These units had proven themselves in combat from Myitkyina to Manchuria. A September 1948 report in the classified weekly *Intelligence Review* produced by the United States Army G-2 provided their obituary. By the fall of 1948 these 39 divisions had been reduced, reorganized, and reconfigured and were now on par with the rest of the Nationalist Army. Rather than improve the vast majority of the Nationalist army forces as recommended, the best units were used up and worn out. Rather than a model to maintain and build on, they were

now in the same poor condition of the rest of the exhausted force that faced the Red Army.[78] The American advisors produced a force that could win. However, it appears it could not be reproduced or maintained without a major continuing advise and assist effort.

Juxtaposed to Barr's report and the Alpha force obituary are the sentiments of a Chinese Nationalist Army Captain who had attended the U.S. Army Command and General Staff College and upon returning to China wrote an "Letter from Nanjing" that was published in the *Military Review in December of* 1948 as the JUSMAGCHINA was in the process of standing down and leaving the country. Below are excerpted some telling remarks that in many ways portrays both how much had been accomplished in China over the nearly decade of U.S. assistance and what had not been done in the complementary actions of the "yin" and the "yank."

> My Captain's pay has been raised to Chinese $13,000,000 a month...it does not suffice to buy a pair of decent shoes....
>
> My Colonel has four children and his entire family lives in one room sixteen by twenty feet....
>
> ...our generals overestimated the advantage of these favorable conditions, came up with the conclusion that victory would be easy for us and that the war with the Communists would be ended in a few short months....
>
> To simple, uneducated, hungry people, food is of far more concern than any political conception. It is indeed difficult to teach the difference between Communism and Democracy when their stomachs are empty....

Captain Huang then turns more optimistic.

> ...the people are beginning to comprehend the suppression of Communism....
>
> The suicidal doctrine of defending every position at any cost has been abandoned....
>
> More freedom in operations now enables our field commanders to gain the initiative....
>
> Two years ago only a few of our people understood that in addition to military operations, political, economical, and psychological warfare are also necessary to guarantee victory....
>
> In short, things in China cannot be gauged by Western industrial standards....
>
> Civil war is always a bitter, cruel struggle....
>
> Can we win the final victory? That depends on how fast we think, how fast we can organize, and how fast we can perform....it is up to us.

The concluding chapter of this study examines the American effort "to change China"[79] from the 1941 advise and assist mission to the evacuation of its remaining advisory personnel to Japan, as China was lost. The end of this study includes a postscript briefly outlining the new beginning of military advisory support in May of 1951 when, Jiang and the Republic of China and the United States of American now at war with Mao's People's Liberation Army on the Korea peninsula, once again have sufficient complementary national interests to drive military cooperation.

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[1]Schnabel, *History of Joint Chiefs 1945-1947*, 185 (see chap. 1, n. 10).

[2]George W. Hibbert, "Reminiscences of the China Theater," *Military Review* 26, no. 12 (March 1947): 22-28. Hibbert was the G-2 of the Service of Supply in China at the end of the war. This article outlines the priority of tasks and key statistics on tons, numbers of American personnel in theater. By October of 1945 on 3,040 from a high of 70,000 American troops remained in China the rest having been moved back through India or out through Shanghai to return the United States.

[3]John W. Dower, *War Without Mercy: Race and Power in the Pacific War* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1986), 4. Dower argues that World War II was among other things a race war. "It exposed raw prejudices and was fueled by racial pride, arrogance, and rage on many sides.

[4]Peattie, Drea, and van de Ven, *Battle for China*, 46-47 (see chap. 2, n. 4).

[5]Ibid., 39.

[6] Romanus and Sunderland, *Time Runs Out*, 72 (see chap. 1, no. 6) and *China White Paper* (see chap. 2, no. 9). Chapter 2 of this document discusses the Hurley mission in detail.

[7]Worton, Oral Interview transcript, 272, USMC Archives, Quantico, VA (see chap. 3, no. 19).

[8]Charles A. Willoughby, "Demobilization and Disarmament of Japanese Forces," *Military Review* 26, no. 4 (July 1946): 27-28.

[9]Cusack. "Repatriation in the China Theater," 58-62 (see chap. 5, n. 85)

[10]Peterkin, *Inside China*, 105 (see chap. 5, n. 89). Lieutenant General John Wainwright who had surrendered the American forces in the Philippines to the Japanese in 1942 had been moved along with hundreds of other American prisoners of war to Manchuria. Russian and Chinese Communists elements were taking the surrender of the Japanese in this area. Ensuring the safety and repatriation of these American was a sensitive issue.

[11]Schnabel, *History of Joint Chiefs 1945-1947*, 184.

[12]Ibid., 190.

[13]Romanus and Sunderland, *Time Runs Out*, 394-395.

[14]Worton, Oral Interview transcript, 246, USMC Archives, Quantico, VA.

[15]Ibid., 249.

[16] Schnabel, *History of Joint Chiefs 1945-1947*, 187.

[17]*China White Paper*, 37.

[18]Worton. Oral Interview transcript, 259, USMC Archives, Quantico, VA.

[19]Ibid., 248-250.

[20]Ibid., 249.

[21]Ibid., 266.

[22]Ibid., 248.

[23]Ibid., 286.

[24]Ibid., 253-260.

[25]Ibid., 254.

[26]Ibid., 261.

[27]Benis M. Frank and Henry I. Shaw Jr., *Victory and Occupation: History of U.S. Marine Corps Operations in World War II* (Washington, DC: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1968), 537-570. This details the deployment of the divisions into the Hopeh (Hebei) and Shantung (Shandung) areas.

[28]Ibid., 274.

[29]Condit, *History of Joint Chiefs 1947-1949*, 236 (see chap. 1, n. 11).

[30]Ibid., 244-248. This action controlled by the U.S. Navy was not part of the advisory effort of JUSMAGCHINA even though Qingdao was a key site for the naval advisory effort.

[31]Cusack, "Repatriation in the China Theater," 58-62.

[32]Romanus and Sunderland, *Time Runs Out*, 372.

[33]Schnabel, *History of Joint Chiefs 1945-1947*, 185.

[34]Romanus and Sunderland, *Time Runs Out*, 381.

[35]Ibid., 372-383

[36]Schnabel, *History of Joint Chiefs 1945-1947*, 193-195.

[37]Ibid., 195-200.

[38]*China White Paper*, 311-312.

[39]Boye, *Operating a Chinese Army Group*, 8 (see chap. 5, n. 42).

[40]Schnabel, *History of Joint Chiefs 1945-1947*, 185-189.

[41]The Russo-Japanese War of 1904-1905 was fought over control of north China and eastern Manchuria. The railway system and the port of Dalian were key military objectives.

[42]*China White Paper,* 113-114.

[43]Ibid., 117.

[44]Taylor, *Generalissimo,* 314 (see chap. 2, n. 53).

[45]*China White Paper,* 73-112. A detailed account of the Hurley negotiations.

[46]Ibid., 112.

[47]Condit, *History of Joint Chiefs 1947-1949,* 236. The embargo was imposed on 29 July 1946 and was not lifted until 28 March 1947.

[48]Schnabel, *History of Joint Chiefs 1945-47,* 187.

[49]John R. Beal, *Marshall in China* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday and Company, 1970) and Tsou Tang, *America's Failure in China, 1941-1950* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1963). Both of these works address the Marshall Mission provide explanations for broader American foreign policy inclinations to get into or out of wars and conflicts as a cycle rather than a long-term consistent set of national policy objectives. Tang's book is published at the start of the Vietnam War. Beal's book is published as the United States is embarking on negotiations with the North Vietnamese to extricate itself from war in Southeast Asia.

[50]Andrew J. Birtle, "The Marshall Mission: A Peacekeeping Mission That Failed," *Military Review* 90, no. 2 (March-April 2000): 99-102.

[51]George C. Marshall, *Marshall's Mission to China* (Arlington, VA: University Publications of America, 1976), 1:20.

[52]*China White Paper,* 138.

[53]Birtle. "The Marshall Mission," 99-102.

[54]"The Military Situation in China as Winter Approaches," *Intelligence Review* 39, no. 21(November 1946): 39-42.

[55]Ibid., 42.

[56]Birtle. "The Marshall Mission," 99-102.

[57]*China White Paper,* 140-143.

[58]Marshall, *Marshall's Mission to China,* 45-46.

[59]David C. Barr, Final Report of the Joint United States Military Advisory Group, 28 February 1949, Record Group 218, Box 218, Appendix D to Annex No. 3, 1-2, Barr Report, National Archives at College Park, MD.

[60]*China White Paper,* 218-219.

[61]Carolle Carter, *Mission to Yenan: American Liaison with the Chinese Communists 1944-1947* (Lexington, KY: University of Kentucky Press, 1997), 196-198.

[62]"The Military Situation in China." *Intelligence Review* 58 (27 March 1947): 13. This weekly-classified publication provided global intelligence updates and special reports. The Intelligence Division, WDGS, War Department in Washington, DC published these. Copies of these reports were located at the Military History Institute, Carlisle, PA. (Hereafter cited as Intelligence Review).

[63]Henry M. Spengler, "American Liaison Groups," *Military Review* 27, no. 1 (April 1947): 64.

[64]*Military Campaigns in China: 1924-1950* (Taipei, Taiwan: Printed at Office of Military History, MAAG, China, 1966), 28-36. These five named extermination campaigns and three others conducted to eradicate the Communists began in December of 1930 and ended in 1936.

[65]"The Shifting Balance of Military Power in China." *Intelligence Review* 78 (14 August 1947): 55-61 and "Causes for the Shift in the Strategic Initiative in China." *Intelligence Review* 79 (21 August 1947): 56-60. Military History Institute.

[66]"Factors Affecting the Shift of Strategic Initiative in Chinese Civil War," *Intelligence Review* 81 (4 September 1947): 50-51.

[67]"Far East." *Intelligence Review* 80 (28 August 1947): 46. This provides the following figures. The Nationalist Military has 2,798,000 with 39 Armies (Corps) and 163 Divisions. (By way of contrast, the United States mobilized and deployed 89 divisions for World War II). The Communist forces were estimated at 1,150,000 regular troops. The document does indicate the Communists have move that 2, 000, 00 "so-called militia" available.

[68]Robert B. Rigg, "Campaign For the Northeast China Railway System, 1946-1947," *Military Review* 27, no. 9 (December 1947): 28-34. Major Rigg was a serving assistant military attaché. In early 1947, he was captured by the Communists while serving as an observer. He was eventually released, but continued to serve in China. He authored *Red China's Fighting Hordes* in 1951. His article states, "While railway lines are operating in both Communist and Nationalist areas, considering Northeast China as a whole, the railway system is crippled." 34.

[69]*China White Paper,* 255-261. This controversial report was not released because of its findings by the Truman administration in 1947. However, its findings were included in the 1949 China White Paper that was seen by many opposed to the president's China policy as an incomplete and misleading report produced for partisan political purposes.

[70]*China White Paper,* 261.

[71]Barr Report, Final Report, 1-2, National Archives.

[72]Condit, *History of Joint Chiefs 1947-1949,* 252-253.

[73]Eastman, *Seeds of Destruction* (see chap. 3, n. 51) and Suzanne Pepper, *Civil War in China: The Political Struggle, 1945-1949* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1978). These books examine in detail the political and economic problems in China that inexorably leads to crisis and ultimate the defeat for Jiang and the Nationalists. Both of these authors focus on the political failure of Jiang and the successes of Mao that set the stage for the military defeat.

[74]Taylor, *Generalissimo,* 221-222. The Taylor biography of Chiang, based on research in his recently released diary, provides a view of Jiang as aware of and sincerely trying to deal with corruption, bad senior leadership, and other problems in the Nationalist armed forces. He argues that Jiang was not corrupt and tried to set the example for professional standards. Also. Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell's Mission to China,* "The Chinese Army in the fall 1941." 32-37.

[75]Barr Report, Final Report, National Archives. This report includes the 19 April 1946 "Basic Study of a Proposed Organization of the Chinese Department of National Defense."

[76]Ibid.

[77]Ibid., V. Future Plans, 10.

[78]"Decline in Effectiveness of Chinese Alpha Units." *Intelligence Review* 134 (16 September 1948): 23-28.

[79] *To Change China* is the title of Jonathan Spence's book on Western military advisors in China.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

> We have finished our second ghastly war in a generation. Our current relations with other nations are far from satisfactory and are in some cases highly dangerous. Our old methods of education and directions of research proved unequal to either maintaining the peace or most effectively winning the wars. Were the wars more ghastly than they might have been had we known more of our enemies and allies? Were these wars inevitable or could wiser national policy and action prevented them, if based upon an early and full understanding of the conditions of life and aspirations of the people with whom we came into conflict? Could we arrive more quickly at a durable peace and maintain it more securely, if we knew better the nations and peoples with whom we must deal? There are implications of hope as well as responsibilities for American scholarship in these questions.[1]

Thousands of Americans, business people, missionaries, journalists, and military personnel, had lived and worked in China for a hundred years or more before World War II. Some had literally spent their entire lives there, yet how well can anyone really understand the culture of another country? American military personnel had served in China for over forty years prior to Pearl Harbor. Both the United States Army and the Marine Corps had programs to educate a small number of officers each year starting in 1912 in the language and the culture. An assignment working as an attaché in the embassy whose duties were to travel and report on that nation's military situation normally followed.

These officers, with considerable expertise gained by living, studying, and working in China, were placed in key positions in the American advisory effort during the decade covered by this study. Thousands of other officers and enlisted personnel went to China with little or no language or cultural preparation. They received additional formal training and education in country to augment their pre-deployment military and technical skills preparation. The testimonies of several Chinese officers and enlisted personnel trained by Americans discussed in earlier chapters also attests to the close relationships that often grew between the trainers and

advisors and their counterparts. These advisors trained, equipped, and accompanied into combat nearly sixty competent divisions and senior headquarters that fought well against the Japanese. Many of these same units later served as the backbone of the Nationalist forces in the civil war. The conclusion of this study briefly summaries the current and emerging scholarship on the American effort to aid China's military and then examines how the American advisors actions and activities support or cast doubt on these views.

Hans van de Ven in a chapter of the recently published *The Battle for China: Essays on the Military History of the Sino-Japanese War of 1937-1945* entitled *"The Sino-Japanese War in History"* outlines the current historiography of this period. He argues that by the 1970s a consensus had emerged that continues to be widely accepted. The Nationalist government during these eight years had shown itself to be an "incompetent, corrupt, militarist regime that had been unable to mobilize Chinese society against Japanese aggression."[2] He further argues the scholarship attributes the American military effort to build the Nationalist armed forces as a "supreme try," as exemplified by the "patriotic, honest, modern, and rational" General "Vinegar Joe" Stilwell.[3] Chennault, Stilwell, Wedemeyer all attempted to build a modern Chinese military and take the war to the Japanese. Jiang and the Nationalist regime, trying to prepare for the war against the Communist that was sure to follow, wasted the effort by the Americans. The works of a diverse set of noted scholars such as Barbara Tuchman, Lloyd Eastman, and Hsi-sheng Chi, and others, like soldier-participant Frank Dorn of Chinese Combat Command, all developed complementary and generally supporting views that are variants of that basic theme.[4] Later scholarship on this period has focused more on the social and economic aspects as they related to the military and political failures of Jiang and his followers. These studies also supported the

military and cultural themes of a weak and fatally flawed Nationalist regime squandering America's best efforts.

Van de Ven also argues that this theme was supported by the work of Harvard's dean of American China studies, John K. Fairbank, who served in the Office of War Information in China during this period. His view was of a Nationalist ruling group "held back by Confucian habits, patterns of rule in the dynastic past, and landlord elites."[5] Van de Ven finishes his section on this "Western Consensus" in the chapter by describing how tenacious this set of interpretations have been in studies of this period.[6] The overwhelming agreement of such noted scholars in the academic community supporting this line of scholarship has also made it less compelling to re-open studies on the Nationalists and Jiang Jieshi. A focus remains on examining the Communist adversaries and the social conditions that fostered their military victory and ultimate rise to power.[7] This negative view of Jiang and the Nationalists ran counter to a range of conservative political actors in both the government and the media in the United States looking for scapegoats in those who had “lost China.”

This politically contentious argument was that the Truman administration abandoned Jiang and the Nationalists in the time of greatest need. The senior military and diplomatic personnel, as well as those in the American media who served in China during this time, were the prime targets in this search for who to blame. Much of the official diplomatic, military, and press reporting was generally critical of the Nationalists regime, and supportive of the Communist efforts. Some argue the war in Korea supported by both Mao and Stalin was proof of Truman's failed policies and a direct result of his lack of support to the Nationalist cause after the war with Japan. America's failure to bring about an accommodation between the Nationalists and the Communists, the withholding of arms and equipment from the Nationalists during the

negotiations, the haggling over the number and role of advisors after January of 1945, all played into a sense that Truman had failed to act decisively and resolutely at the end of the war with Japan. This was reinforced, mostly in hindsight, when the Chinese People's Volunteers began their participation in the war in Korea. For the first time Chinese Communist and American forces were engaged in direct major combat operations. Faced with Soviet and Chinese Communist support for a hot war in Asia, by May of 1951, an American military advisory mission to the Republic of China on Taiwan was reestablished. A new era of military advice and assistance began between the United States and the Republic of China.

The most comprehensive study of foreign advisors in China is Jonathan Spence's *To Change China: Western Advisors in China, 1620-1960.* He devotes one chapter to Chennault, Stilwell, and Wedemeyer. He states, that when Roosevelt demanded Stilwell command all Chinese forces "the stage was set for the most ambitious and most arrogant attempt by Western advisers in China to gain power." He further argues, "For anyone with any knowledge of Chinese history and politics it should have been clearly inconceivable that the Chinese would voluntarily put a Westerner in command of all their armed forces on their own soil, when so doing would bring about the fall of Chiang Kai-shek."[8] His analysis helps inform an imperialist narrative where the outside intervener is doomed to failure in any clash of cultures, interests, and jealously guarded sovereignty. In contravention of the political anti-Truman bloc, Spence provides a strong argument there was nothing the United States could have done to save their Chinese ally. No matter how strong or weak the shared threat perception of Jiang, his American advisors, and supporters, there were limits to what could be done by an outside power.

Spence especially singled out the American as is obvious in the following quotation.

> As we look back at the cycle from 1620 to 1960, we can observe the standpoint of superiority from which the Western advisers approached China. This superiority sprang from two elements: the possession of advanced technical skills and the sense of moral rightness. Convinced that their goals were good and that their advice was sorely needed, the Westerners adopted a proprietary air toward China; Chinese refusal to accept the validity of their goals, and the Chinese rejection of advice, were met with Western bewilderment or anger. Driven on by their varying visions, most Western advisers developed some degree of emotional involvement with China; they demanded more from China than payment for services rendered. They did not see that the Chinese had a contractual view of the relationship and maintained as nominal employers the right to terminate the agreements when they saw fit. The repercussions of this misunderstanding could be serious and among Americans, for instance, once so active as advisors during the late Ch'ing (Qing) and the Republican periods, there emerged theories of betrayal and of "loss" of China. Americans had not been betrayed, however, they had failed no more than others had failed in the past, and they had lost no more that others had lost--money, life's work, hopes. China had not been America's to lose.[9]

Spence published his work on foreign advisors in China in 1969 as the United States embarked on its Vietnamization program in Indochina. Spence's historical and cultural warnings were obvious, and well timed. Negotiations were ongoing between the United States and North Vietnam. The planned systematic withdrawal of American combat units was part of the negotiated agreement. The main effort was focused on American advisory teams and on air support, logistics, and other enablers to assist the forces of South Vietnam until they could stand on their own. The question of whether or not the United State could have won the Vietnam War was a more direct sequel to "Who Lost China," than the Korean War where the American ally survived and the 1953 armistice held a stalemate in place.

This study is fully cognizant of the accepted scholarship, the bitter domestic partisan politics engendered, and the legacy of the loss of China that emerged over the intervening years since the PRC was established. The direct confrontation between the PLA and the United States on the Korea peninsula and the mostly indirect military interactions in other venues in Asia

including the Taiwan straits all influenced the direction of this scholarship. This study provides a more nuanced refinement of the established "truths" that have emerged to explain this period of modern Chinese history. It reexamines these scholarly trends through the lens of the American military advisors and to a lesser degree their Chinese counterparts. By looking broadly at nearly a century of American military involvement and influence in China, and focusing on about a decade of advising during both external and internal conflicts, this study looks for potential flaws and fissures, not tears and holes in the dominant narrative of foreign involvement in China during this important and turbulent period. There are excellent biographies of only the most senior military leaders who served in China during this period, Marshall, Stilwell, Wedemeyer, and Chennault. There are works by, and new biographies of, two of the diplomats who served with the military as close advisors, John S. "Jack" Service and John Patton Davies.[10] Their works and stories certainly inform the narrative.

In term of China's civil war, a lot has been written on the rise of the Communists, especially on Mao and his peasant-based movement. However, there are few comprehensive works on the overarching military strategy, operational campaigns, and tactics of the conflict between the Communists and the Nationalist militaries between 1937 and 1949. There remains no real consensus detailing how the Communists militarily defeated the Nationalists who outnumbered them over three-to-one or more through 1947 and two-to-one as late as May of 1948.[11] That Jiang was corrupt and militarily inept, and Truman duped by military, diplomatic, and media pro-Communist "China hands" would seem to be insufficient on its face, no matter how well supported by the past and current scholarship attempting to explain the Nationalist defeat. Were Jiang and the Chinese Nationalist leadership really so corrupt, culture bound, and backward looking that they could not successfully adapt to deal with the foreign and domestic

threats to their positions of power, their military establishment, and their government? Were the Americans military officers, many of whom had spent the key and formative parts of their careers studying and serving in China, so modern, western-centric, and filled with industrial-age martial hubris that they could not understand and adapt to the requirements of the political-military culture, history, and yet-to-fully-modernize trends of their Chinese counterparts? The United States military had spent a lot of time in China, and in Asia. Had it learned nothing?

Max Boot, in his *Savage Wars of Peace: Small Wars and the Rise of American Power,* argues that Americans are good at small wars, working with indigenous militaries and "nation building." In his chapter on American forces in China, he covers the period from 1900 to 1941. In support of the American effort he says, "What is most striking is how long the American military stayed in China--and how successfully."[12] In 1942, with America's entrance into the war with Japan, the potentially mortal external drivers for change and accommodation in the Chinese military could not have been stronger. The converging of national interests was as obvious for Jiang and the Nationalists as for the American political leadership and its military and diplomatic personnel serving in China. The fate of China and the opportunities possible with a modern, capable Chinese ally were too important to ignore given the mutual threat both countries faced. If Jiang had only wanted personal power as China's senior warlord, he could have negotiated for a position of leadership in the Japanese East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere. He was more than first among warlords. He was the leader of China, a country that was and would be an important player in Asia.

The Allied effort in the CBI Theater against Japan did evolve into a sideshow of the war in the Asia-Pacific Theater. However, that was as much a matter of timing, military geography, the weakness of the Japanese Navy, and the Imperial Japanese Army's overextension. The United

States may have had a strategy of Europe first, but in reality, the American military effort across the Pacific and from the Southwest Pacific began before the North Africa campaign and was more of a co-equal element of the United States global war strategy. The Japanese military assets confronted and held in China and in Southeast Asia were significant. The American advisors on the ground in China helped organize, train, and equip the 39 best divisions in the Nationalist Chinese army in support of that strategy.

The Japanese forces that remained in China at the end of the war were formidable. The Allies' request for the Soviet Union's forces to attack into Manchuria attests to that belief even late in the conflict. As the previous chapters in this study have shown, much went right in this long and difficult relationship between the United States and China. In the war with Japan and in the civil war that followed, the American advisors and their counterparts built a force that was able to retake northern Burma, successfully mount a defense of central and southwest China, prepare for an offensive against the Japanese, and execute a difficult reoccupation and repatriation of the eastern third of China. Looking back after more than fifty years have passed, corruption, a clash of cultures, and modernist technical and imperialist hubris seem too simple to be convincing explanations of this complex relationship. The issue is how China and the United States dealt with the challenges they faced in the war with Japan and in the civil war that followed as the Cold War emerged to challenge America's post World War II dominance.

The thesis of this study is that the American military personnel, from the most senior officers to junior enlisted service members, endured, persevered, and despite tremendous obstacles, made steady progress in their efforts to improve the operational military capability of China's armed forces. It was neither a wasted nor a squandered effort. The Nationalist Chinese regime in the first half of the twentieth century was a complex political-military institution with a

national culture and historical tradition very different from the United States. However, for almost a century the Chinese had embarked on an effort to modernize and Westernize their armed forces. These forces had suffered humiliating defeats fighting the Europeans, the Americans and the Japanese, but they had also won some battles and campaign, giving the invaders pause. China's armed forces had adopted Western military weapons, techniques, and organizations, and sent many of its sons abroad to study military and technical subjects in Japan and the West.

Through the 19th century and the first four decades of the 20th century, some of the best militaries in the world at the time advised and equipped Chinese forces. Britain, France, Italy, Germany, Japan, Russia, and the Soviet Union had all both fought against and supported the Chinese during some part of the period from 1839 to 1941. Jiang Jieshi's effort to build a new Chinese national military, beginning with his own schooling in Japan and with his establishment of the Huangpu Military Academy in Guangzhou with German advisers in the 1920s, casts doubt on his culture bound and backward approach to building modernized defense forces and warfare. The fact that his deputy commandant and political officer was Zhou Enlai, destined to be Mao's second-in-command through his death in 1976, casts doubt on Jiang's inability to understand his Communist foe. His triumphant Northern Expedition against powerful warlords and factions that ended with his establishment of a national government in Nanjing also speaks to strength and not weakness.

The Nationalist successes over the Communists during the Fifth Extermination campaign that ended with the Communists remnants isolated in China vast northwest at the end of the Long March victory also speaks to Jiang's military prowess, organizational skills, improving tactics and developing capabilities. His forces had learned how to fight the Communists over nearly a

decade of conflict. The Nationalist forces with their warlord allies had emerged in a position to continue offensive operations against a greatly weakened foe, even if they now occupied a sanctuary with the Soviet Union and the vast expanse of Xinjiang to its back and flank. The ensuing Xian Incident precipitated by Jiang's own subordinates temporarily suspended the war between the Nationalists and the Communists. Jiang's release and resumption of China's political and military leadership was an acknowledgement of his growing national prestige and international recognition. China was now on the verge of a full-scale war with Japan and an alliance with major global powers.

The contingency of a very new and dangerous situation now confronted China's very sovereign existence. The Japanese continued anew their steady encroachment of Chinese territory that had first begun in 1894-1895 with the First Sino-Japanese War. China had lost of Manchuria by the early 1930s, had been humiliated with the bombings in Shanghai, and by the mid 1930 no longer controlled Beijing. In the aftermath of the incident at the Marco Polo Bridge outside of Beijing in July of 1937, a state of war existed between China and Japan. Was this a greater advantage for Mao or for Jiang? From 1927 to 1937, two Chinese armies, organized, recruited, equipped, prepared, and conducted war against each other on a grand scale. These activities, despite the national political divisions are evidence of a Chinese military in the midst of fundamental change and on the march to becoming a more capable, foreign-emulating armed forces.

The Chinese militaries, both Nationalist and Communist, of 1941 had come a long way from the days of the Manchu Bannermen and the Green Standard Army of the Qing Dynasty. The Chinese armed forces the United States began to advise and assist in the fall of 1941, had been soundly defeated by the Japanese, but had not capitulated and were holding on to a tenuous,

but difficult to assail defensive strategic position in southwestern and central China. Losing to the Japanese Imperial Army was not unique to China's forces. The Chinese military's personnel losses in the 1937-38 Shanghai and Nanjing campaigns were four to five times those of the Japanese. While there were certainly flaws in the Nationalist's tactics and command structures, lack of airpower, artillery and maneuverability help account for the losses in the opening days of China's full scale modern warfare against a well-armed and capable force.

By 1938, a stalemate existed with very little fighting going on.[13] This situation arguably contributed to the perception that until the end of the war, the Nationalists were content to sit back and wait for the Allies to deal with Japan. China would have been foolish to continue to fight the Japanese with loss rates expected to be similar to those suffered in the first year of the war when some of its best German trained and equipped units had been defeated. Jiang was certainly aware of the incomplete transformation of his forces, their readiness status, and the risk of further combat against Japan's superior forces. These ground forces, like his air forces that were reforming under Chennault's guidance in southwestern China, needed a respite and a time to reform and refit. Only a modern Western power could provide the equipment and technical training needed to accomplish this task.

Before the conflict, China's war industries were located predominately in eastern China. With few exceptions, it was impossible to move these plants and manufacturing facilities west to support the military's new locations. China had virtually no indigenous capability to recover in terms of modern weapons and equipment capable of opposing those possessed by Japan. Not only were the Japanese well-equipped and organized for modern combat, they were well led and confident having develop a Western-style military over the last more than fifty years. Any thought of the Japanese being a second-class force was dispelled in the early 1940s. Within six

months of the establishment of the AMMISCA, the British had suffered some of their worst military defeats in their history in Hong Kong Malaya, and Singapore. For the United States, General Douglas MacArthur had been ordered out of the Philippines and General Wainwright left to surrender with the failed American-Filipino defense of Bataan. By early 1942, when Stilwell arrived in China, the Japanese were at the height of their power and geographic conquest in Asia.

A relationship between the Chinese military and their American advisors was forged beginning with the loss of Burma, Stilwell's retreat, and the establishment of the training school at Ramgarh, India; one of the most dangerous times in modern Chinese history. The very fate of China's national survival was at stake, with its core territory being held by a foreign invader and its military defeated and driven to the interior of the country. The China-Burma-India Theater was an operational environment of formidable opposing enemy forces, forbidding geography and terrain, and conflicting and dynamic international, alliance, and national strategic policies and politics. The very real accomplishments of these American military personnel and their Chinese counterparts over the next nearly eight years, and the lessons of their successes, shortcoming, and failures have been obscured by the timing and circumstances of the Japanese surrender and the Nationalist military's ultimate defeat in the civil war that followed.

The story of the development of the Chinese armed forces across this decade does salvage some of its reputation in the following decade with the defense of Taiwan and its survival as a Cold War ally of the United States. Somewhat ironically, the war in Korea provided evidence that Jiang had fought a very capable and well-led adversary from 1945-1949. The Communist Chinese People's Volunteers in Korea fought the United States and is United Nation's allies for over two years to gain a stalemate in 1953 on the peninsula. The Nationalists

survived and Jiang was able to revive and rebuild his regime on the island of Taiwan. Today, his Nationalist party governs the Republic of China with its modern and professional armed forces. They still receive military training and education in the United States. In addition, its primary sources of armaments are those either indigenously produced or purchased from American manufacturers.

The United States showed its agility and flexibility, reliability, and modesty and realism in dealing with the problems in China, Burma, and India from the fall of 1941 through the reestablishment in May of 1951 of the military advisory group on Taiwan. The American military advisors adapted to complex and dynamic changes in the situation. When looked at over the ten years of the study, although there were notable exceptions, the American advisors were reliable and their actions predictable. Perhaps most importantly, the American military had gained considerable experience serving in China and working with the Chinese military. By the end of the war with Japan, both sides knew what to expect of the other and were realistic about the possibilities. An alternative view of this decade is that the American advisors and their Chinese counterparts failed at an impossible set of tasks, contingencies, and contradictions. They were defeated by the difficulty and enormity of the task and the exigencies of the situation. Maybe it was not an insurmountable clash of cultures, flawed and single-minded leaders, and the asymmetrical pace and acceptability of modernity that explains the loss of China. The convergence of strategic, geographic, political, and military circumstances beyond the control of any of the agents has the potential to provide a more nuanced and balanced explanation.

For an American military officer or noncommissioned officer, an efficient and effective military has its own, unique culture, neither American nor Chinese. There are objective standards to evaluate military forces and their performance. Either the tank starts or it does not. The

artillery shell bursts where it was aimed or it does not. The hill is taken, the enemy defeated, and a defense consolidated or it is not. How one gets to that point of military success, through interpreters, under American or Chinese officers, and at what cost remains to a great extent the domain of the advisors and their relationship to their counterparts. The enemies they are fighting also get a vote in the outcome of any battle, campaign, or strategy. There are limits to the cultural adaptations that are acceptable, however, when the performance in combat, in life and death situations, is the measure of success and failure. Boatner's initial guidance to be American, but not too American and to let the Chinese be Chinese, but not too Chinese was excellent advice. When the ten years of the advisory effort are looked at comprehensively, the opposites of Yin and Yank, despite all of the challenges, together formed a functioning and capable whole. The forces trained, equipped, and advised by the American advisors became the best units in Chinese military. The Chinese consistently performed well in the field, with American advisors and enabling capabilities against the Japanese and under their own officer against the Communists. Neither side was sufficient alone to accomplish the tasks assigned and gain the victories given the enemies and the circumstances that they faced; together they gave it a good shot.

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[1]Ken K. Ito, *Densho CJS Newsletter: From the Director* (Ann Arbor, MI: Center for Japanese Studies, University of Michigan, Fall 2010), 2, 5.

[2]Peattie, Drea, and van de Ven, *Battle for China*, 448 (see chap. 2, n. 4).

[3]Ibid., 449.

[4]Ibid.

[5]Ibid., 452.

[6]Ibid.

[7]Ibid., 448-452.

[8]Spence, *To Change China*, 258 (see chap. 1, n 17).

[9]Ibid., 290.

[10]Lynne Joiner, *Honorable Survivor: Mao's China, McCarthy's America, and the Persecution of John S. Service* (Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 2009). John Paton Davies, Jr., *China Hand: An Autobiography* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012).

[11]"The Military Situation in China." *Intelligence Review* 115 (6 May 1948): 22-25. Nationalist forces, 2,723,000 and Communist forces 1,450,000. The Nationalist still had an air force of 100,000 and a navy of 36,000. The Communist had neither air, nor naval forces.

[12]Boot, *Savage Wars of Peace*, 278 (see chap. 3, n. 14).

[13]Peattie, Drea, and van de Ven. *Battle for China*, Chapter 6 "Japanese Operations from July to December 1937. Shanghai campaign is covered on pages 1168-175.

Postscript

> United States policy -- The policy of the United States has been to oppose Communism. If this policy is continued on the mainland of Asia, the present Chinese Nationalist Government or a non-Communist successor, with all its weaknesses, is the only possible agent. There is no alternative short of armed intervention. Active military support of this Government by the United States will require advisors who can, for all practical purposes, command the Chinese Armed Forces, and will require a large amount of aid in the form of arms, ammunition, and materials. The cost of this will be great, perhaps excessive; whether too great is beyond the scope of this report. Regardless of United States policies, desires, and willingness, no advisory group can accomplish much unless actively desired by the Chinese and fully supported by them.[1]
>
> "The Barr Report"

The story of the American advisory mission to China, 1941-1951 ends very much as it began. A small group of Americans began an advise and assist mission to a beleaguered and defeated ally that has been displaced from its capital by a better and more capable armed force. The reasons for the Nationalist's defeat are complex and continue to be controversial. There are both intrinsic and extrinsic reasons for the poor performance of the Nationalist Chinese forces.

Some of these weaknesses and shortcomings the American military advisors might have been able to fix, others might have been improved, and still others were beyond their capability given the time, geography, political, and economic circumstances. As the quote from the *JUSMAG Final Report* in February of 1949 above indicates, despite the problems encountered, the senior advisor and his staff still believed if American forces conducted "armed intervention" and were given "for all practical purposes, command of Chinese Armed Forces," this assistance might have produced a positive outcome. Not unlike Captain Huang's comments at the end of chapter 6, there was hope and optimism for a way forward informed by the mistakes and the successes of the past. Later in his report, Barr outlined the minimum requirements necessary to restart a mission at a future time. The report reads like a reprint of the 1941 AMMISCA

assessment, and focuses on a smaller, reorganized, adequately trained and equipped military force. The American's faith in the average Chinese soldier never wavered.

On 1 May 1951, an American Military Assistance Advisory Group to the Republic of China was re-established on the island of Taiwan as the United States battled Communist Chinese forces on the Korean peninsula. On December 1, 1951, an article was published in *Collier's* magazine titled "Pacific Report: Free China Must Be Saved Now--or Never" by Thomas E. Dewey. The article chronicled Dewey's visit to Taiwan, a Republican who ran against Truman in 1948. One of the pictures included with the article shows Dewey and Major General William C. Chase standing beside General Sun Liren at a training event. Sun, a graduate of the Virginia Military Institute, a decade before had commanded one of the divisions trained at Ramgarh after its retreat from Burma in the spring of 1942. Sun and Chase, who had previously served in China, are tangible examples of the continuity of the American effort. The emerging strategic situation in Asia had once again made allies of culture opposites. The argument of Dewey's article is that the United States must support Jiang and the Nationalist forces on Taiwan. The consolidation of power on the mainland by Mao's Communist government could not be allowed to stand. The Americans and their Nationalist Chinese allies were once again in need of one another's assistance. Nevertheless, the Nationalist record of the past decade was not off limits, for American politicians or the press. The Americans were too American and the Chinese were too Chinese.

The article offers this assessment: "There are grave defects in the military and governmental picture. Just by way of comparison, all the officers of the rank of general or admiral in the whole American Army, Navy and Air Force number about 1,100. On Formosa there are 1,700 generals!"[2] Dewey goes on to state that "too many of them are not fighting

generals. And too many are engaged primarily in intrigue and political activity."[3] Perhaps most revealing is Dewey's answer to his own question-- why does Jiang not make the necessary and "obvious" changes. "He cannot--he is a prisoner of his past successes."[4] The American military advisors to China during the decade covered in this study are much like Jiang; they were prisoners of their own successes. The melding of the talents and skills of both sides into a workable whole was the only potentially viable solution. Beginning in 1951 and continuing until the writing of this study American advisors and security assistance personnel have worked together with their Chinese counterparts to build a competent, capable, and modern military to support and protect the government on Taiwan. This military-to-military relationship has continued even after the official recognition of the People's Republic of China by the United States in 1979. Military missions to advise and assist an allied or friendly nation, despite all the difficulties of language, culture, and history, remains a viable strategic option that cannot and should not be overlooked, nor oversold.

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[1]Barr Report, Final Report, 10, National Archives.

[2]Thomas E. Dewey, "Pacific Report: Free China Must Be Saved Now---or Never," *Colliers*, December 1, 1951, 16.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Ibid.

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